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# **Arms Control**

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# Arms Control

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## JAPAN

### U.S., European, Japanese Defense Experts Meet

OW0212083189 Tokyo KYODO in English  
0700 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Tokyo, Dec 2 KYODO—Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage on Saturday called for a new mechanism for security consultations among Japan, the United States and Europe that emphasize a circular rather than triangular relationship. Similar views were expressed by other European and Japanese defense experts participating in a two-day security forum here sponsored by the Foreign Ministry.

Armitage called present consultations insufficient for current realities, saying new avenues of contact among the three were needed. Europe, the U.S. and Japan need to "come up and be on the same stage together," he said. But the former defense official criticized the usual position of the U.S. at the apex of a triangular relationship with Japan and Europe. A circle, he said, would be more appropriate but noted Japan and the U.S. were "much more ready for a circular relationship" than Europe. Weak Euro-Japanese links prevent the realization of a full circle, Armitage said.

French expert Pierre Lellouche, though disagreeing with the circle concept, admitted that Europe was "terribly ignorant of Japan." Lellouche, an assistant to conservative opposition leader Jacques Chirac, said a channel of communication beyond that of the annual summit of industrialized countries was needed. Other experts also voiced support for the idea with Uwe Nerlich, deputy director of a West German think tank on security issues, seeing increased summitry as the answer to the Euro-Japan gap.

U.S.-Japan consultations could also be strengthened, said Japan's Defense Academy Prof. Masashi Nishihara, who suggested the formulation of joint proposals for the Pacific region to counter the passive, reactive stance of the two nations toward Soviet strategy. But Armitage rejected the concept of "peace initiatives" for the present, stressing that unilateral offers of arms reductions would only strengthen the hand of Moscow conservatives opposing arms cuts and emphasizing military strength.

Trade frictions surfaced indirectly in the security forum as all panelists agreed that mixing trade and security issues distorted efforts at achieving a joint defense stance. Armitage termed the congressional uproar over the joint U.S.-Japanese development of the FSX fighter as "the biggest debacle of my almost nine years (in the Defense Department)."

In the U.S., the Japanese trade "threat," said Kyorin University Prof. Tadae Takubo, was being unfairly compared to the Soviet military "threat." Takubo warned

that the thaw in Japanese-Soviet relations, though minimal at present, might combine with increasing U.S.-Japanese frictions to a point where the Japanese public would view the U.S. as more threatening than the Soviet Union.

### U.S. Embassy, Ministry Deny Ammunition Plan

OW0512085389 Tokyo KYODO in English  
1402 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Hiroshima, Dec 4 KYODO—The Foreign Ministry and the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo on Monday denied reports that the U.S. Forces plan to store ammunition in container vessels anchored in Kure Port, Hiroshima Prefecture, a local civic group said. The U.S. Forces informed a local Maritime Safety Office that they plan to store ammunition on vessels when such ships are docked for repairs at the port, according to safety officials.

Local citizens voiced their opposition to the plan, saying it would be dangerous to store ammunition at the port which is congested with fishing and ferry boats.

In response to a protest lodged by a civic group, Peace Link Hiroshima-Kure-Iwakuni, a senior Foreign Ministry official said the ministry has not heard about a specific plan for such storage of ammunition, according to Ichiro Yuasa, who heads the group. Kevin K. Maher, assistant attache at the U.S. Embassy, was also quoted as telling the group that he thinks there will be no such action taken in the next year. However, Yuasa said he suspects that the U.S. Forces are watching how people react toward the plan, adding he wants to continue campaigning against the idea.

### Government Reacts to U.S.-USSR Meeting in Malta

#### Officials Applaud Results

OW0412011889 Tokyo KYODO in English  
0052 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Tokyo, Dec 4 KYODO—Foreign Ministry officials on Sunday night [3 December] welcomed the results of the U.S.-Soviet summit, saying it opened a new era for superpower relations and for the world as a whole.

They rated highly the open and constructive dialogue between U.S. President George Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, saying their unprecedented joint press conference reflected the frankness of their discussions.

The Japanese officials expressed their hopes that progress toward a reduction of conventional forces in Europe and a U.S. pledge to assist ongoing "perestroika" (restructuring) in the Soviet Union will have a favorable effect on the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region. They added, however, that it seems U.S. President Bush and Soviet President Gorbachev did not reach concrete agreements on any specific matter during

the superpower summit, as far as could be ascertained from the joint press conference.

The officials said the two leaders are likely to have discussed the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, although they did not refer to it at the press conference.

### **Kaifu Welcomes Outcome**

*OW0412043289 Tokyo KYODO in English  
0400 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Text] Tokyo, Nov 4 KYODO—Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu welcomed the outcome of the weekend summit meeting of U.S. President George Bush and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on Monday, saying their frank discussions transcended the era of the cold war. Asked his comments by reporters at the prime minister's official residence, Kaifu said the talks between the two leaders have been very useful. He added that Japan wants to establish a stable relationship with the Soviet Union, and will continue efforts to settle a territorial dispute and conclude a peace treaty with the Moscow government.

Japan highly rates the Soviet "perestroika" (restructuring) efforts and has decided to accept a research mission on economic reform from the Soviet Union, Kaifu said. He said Japan hopes to establish a stable relationship with the Soviet Union by expanding exchanges as much as possible.

Chief Cabinet Secretary Mayumi Moriyama said Japan wants to contribute to the stability of East-West relations while maintaining close consultations with the United States. The chief government spokeswoman told reporters that the leaders of the two superpowers set a framework for future of talks, and Japan hopes they will make progress in those talks. The U.S. Government will send a representative to brief Kaifu on the outcome of the summit, she said.

Asked whether Japan has any plans to cut its defense budget, Moriyama said Japan must cautiously study developments, because of what she said are discrepancies between Gorbachev's attitude at the summit and Soviet military deployments.

Top Foreign Ministry officials said Monday the superpower summit will facilitate the process of East-West reconciliation. The top officials, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the two superpower leaders demonstrated that they are not only working to close a chapter of the past but to create positive conditions for the future.

Although the talks certainly gave an impetus to the current positive trend of moving from East-West confrontation to cooperation, neither leader seemed to give a clear idea of his "vision" for the future, one of the officials noted.

While rhetoric about an end to the "cold war" is enticing, it is important to keep an eye to the instability

generated by the rapid changes sweeping Eastern Europe and elsewhere, the officials said.

It is thus important for Japan and other countries to take policies which will ensure the success of those changes, they said, adding that excessive speed should be avoided in the reform process. With ambiguity prevailing as to the nature of the future global framework, countries should adopt a step-by-step approach in their diplomacy, said one official.

Japan should remain optimistic about the future, but should not go so far as to look at things through rose-colored glasses, the official said.

## **NORTH KOREA**

### **Tripartite Talks Proposed at MAC Meeting**

*SK3011070689 Pyongyang KCNA in English  
0610 GMT 30 Nov 89*

[Text] Panmunjom November 30 (KCNA)—The 452nd meeting of the Military Armistice Commission is being held at Panmunjom at the proposal of our side.

Pointing to the grave danger of nuclear war created on the Korean peninsula, our side made a new proposal for removing it and is urging the U.S. side to discuss it.

Recalling that we proposed on November 9 to hold within this year tripartite talks involving the DPRK, the United States and South Korea to discuss the question of converting the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, major general Choe Ui-ung, senior member of our side, put forward the following proposal to the U.S. side as a practical step to create an atmosphere of trust for the talks and exert a good influence on the multichannel North-South dialogues:

Firstly, both sides shall not stage any military exercises involving nuclear weapons and equipment capable of being loaded with or delivering nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula and its surrounding waters from January 1, 1990.

Secondly, both sides shall not stage large-scale military exercises involving armed forces of and above the scale of combined unit on the Korean peninsula and its surrounding waters.

Thirdly, both sides shall not stage joint military exercises on the Korean peninsula and its surrounding waters by introducing armed forces from outside.

Choe Ui-ung expressed the hope that the U.S. side would approach our new proposal with sincerity.

The meeting continues.

### Steps Toward Nuclear-Free Peninsula Cited

SK3011071689 *Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
0615 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Pyongyang Nov 30 (KCNA)—A spokesman for the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea made public a statement today in connection with the fact that the U.S. authorities have not yet given any answer to our proposal of negotiation, though the Foreign Ministry of the DPRK in its statement November 9 proposed to hold tripartite talks involving the DPRK, the United States and South Korea within this year to discuss and resolve the problem of denuclearisation of the Korean peninsula.

The spokesman says:

We consider that, if the United States and the South Korean authorities are not in a position, for some reasons, to respond to our proposal right now, they should take at least practical measures to refrain from military actions practically fraught with the danger of a nuclear war in order to create an atmosphere of trust for tripartite talks and exert a favourable influence on the multichannel North-South dialogues now going on.

In this connection we propose to the United States and South Korean authorities:

Firstly, to stop all the military exercises involving nuclear weapons and equipment capable of being loaded with or delivering them on the Korean peninsula and the surrounding waters as from January 1, 1990.

Secondly, to stop military exercises involving armed forces of and above the scale of combined unit on the Korean peninsula and its surrounding waters.

Thirdly, to keep the Armies of the North and the South from staging joint military exercises with foreign troops overseas, not to speak of the Korean peninsula and in its surrounding waters.

Believing that, if these steps at least are taken immediately on the Korean peninsula, they will make a certain contribution to the removal of the danger of nuclear war, we hope that the United States and the South Korean authorities will ponder over our proposal and show an affirmative response to it.

We will wait with patience for the response of the United States and the South Korean authorities to our just proposal for a tripartite negotiation for turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone.

### U.S. Urged To 'Respond' to North's Proposal

SK3011105489 *Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
1016 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Kaesong November 30 (KCNA)—The 452nd meeting of the Military Armistice Commission was held today at Panmunjom at the proposal of our side.

Pointing to the grave danger of nuclear war created on the Korean peninsula, our side proposed to take "immediate measures to remove the danger of nuclear war" as a practical step toward its removal and urged the U.S. side to respond to it.

Noting that our side in December 1985 put forward a proposal to stop large-scale military exercises by both sides, but the U.S. side answered it with frequent massive war exercises of broader scale, not responding to it, senior member of our side Major General Choe Ui-ung said:

Owing to the large-scale war exercises, distrust and confrontation between the two sides have grown more acute and the situation is racing to the brink of war.

The fact that North-South dialogues were suspended for several months this year and these dialogues bear no fruits is unthinkable apart from such war clamour.

Recalling that we proposed on November 9 to hold tripartite talks involving the DPRK, the United States and South Korea to discuss the problem of the denuclearisation of the Korean peninsula within this year, he put forward the following proposal as practical measures to create an atmosphere of trust for the talks and exert a good influence on the ongoing multichannel North-South dialogues:

First, both sides shall not stage any military exercises involving nuclear weapons and equipment capable of being loaded with or delivering nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula and its surrounding waters as from January 1, 1990.

Second, both sides shall not stage large-scale military exercises involving armed forces of and above the scale of combined unit on the Korean peninsula and its surrounding waters.

Third, both sides shall not stage joint military exercises directed against each other overseas, to say nothing of the Korean peninsula and its surrounding waters.

The senior member of our side said that ours is a fair and reasonable proposal equally binding on both sides, not one advantageous to one side and disadvantageous to the other.

If the outbreak of a nuclear war is to be prevented, he said, nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles should be removed. But, if the United States is not prepared for this right now, we propose, first of all, that both sides refrain, at least, from staging military exercises involving nuclear weapons and equipment capable of being loaded with or delivering nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula and its surrounding waters.

And in order to ease tensions and remove the danger of a nuclear war, we propose to rule out altogether military exercises which threaten the other party and not to stage such military exercises as the "Team Spirit" and the

"Pacex" that require introduction of armed forces from outside or operations overseas.

If the U.S. side really intend to implement the Armistice Agreement and create conditions favourable for confidence between the two sides and for North-South dialogues, there should be no reason for them to refuse to accept our proposal, he said, and repeatedly urged it to accept our sides' proposal.

The U.S. side, however, would not discuss our proposal, contending that the problem of military exercises could not be taken up at the Military Armistice Commission.

Strongly reputing offhandedly the preposterous assertion of the enemy, the senior member of our side said:

The stand taken by the U.S. side at this meeting shows that the United States is not interested in the least in removing the danger of war, particularly the danger of nuclear war, on the Korean peninsula and easing tensions, that it is still trying to lay obstacles in the way of Korea's reunification and North-South dialogue, and that there is no truth in all the words uttered by the U.S. side so far, such as "effective operation" of the Military Armistice Commission and "confidence building."

What we need is not the empty talk that you want the relaxation of tensions and confidence, but practical deeds, said the senior member of our side. And he demanded that the U.S. side deeply study our new proposal and affirmatively respond to it at the next meeting.

#### **Proposal for Nuclear-Free Zone Supported Abroad**

*SK2811231489 Pyongyang KCNA in English  
1500 GMT 28 Nov 89*

[Text] Pyongyang Nov 28 (KCNA)—Foreign public circles recently expressed support to the November 9 statement of the DPRK Foreign Ministry on establishing a nuclear-free zone on the Korean peninsula.

The Sudan-Korea Friendship Association in a statement denounced the belligerent stand of the United States which continues building up nuclear arms in South Korea in disregard of the DPRK's earnest call for having dialogue and negotiation for peace on the Korean peninsula. We support the DPRK Government's proposal to turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, it said.

The all India Indo-Korean Friendship Association and the Indian Committee for Supporting Korea's Reunification in a joint statement said that the United States and South Korean authorities must respond at an early date to the tripartite talks proposed by the DPRK to denuclearize the Korean peninsula. The statement called upon all the anti-imperialist democratic forces in India to extend full support to this initiative.

The managing editor of the Jordanian magazine AL WAHA [spelling as received] in a press statement

appealed to the world's peaceloving countries to support the proposal of the DPRK Government and called upon the United States and South Korea to respond to the peace initiative for tripartite talks which was put forward by the DPRK to discuss the questions of averting the danger of a nuclear war and guaranteeing peace.

#### **SOUTH KOREA**

##### **U.S.-USSR, Korean Disarmament Issues Analyzed**

*SK0212121589 Seoul CHOSON ILBO in Korean  
29 Nov 89 p 3*

[Editorial: "Disarmament Between the United States and the Soviet Union and Between North and South Korea"]

[Text] The United States and the USSR, the world's two military superpowers, are undertaking an epochal disarmament. The issue of disarmament will be seriously discussed at the NATO defense ministers' meeting held in Brussels on 28 and 29 November and at the U.S.-USSR summit talks on 2 December.

What makes this different from the past is the fact that both the United States and the Soviet Union are putting into practice specific arms reduction plans, and putting forward plans for the reduction of the specific number of troops and arms, and for drastically cutting their defense budgets. These steps are being taken for the first time since the end of World War II. For instance, the USSR's Gorbachev signed the INF Treaty with U.S. President Reagan, and declared in December of last year a unilateral troop reduction of 500,000 men stationed in Europe.

U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney announced a plan at the House Armed Services Committee last April to cut the defense budget by \$10 billion. The reduction of 500,000 troops represents only 10 percent of the total Soviet troops, and the U.S. budget cut of \$10 billion is less than one thirtieth of current U.S. military expenditure.

Nonetheless, the significance of this far exceeds the numerical figures. Significant is the fact that the Soviet Union realized the wastefulness of having concentrated the state's strength, since the days of Brezhnev, on the arms race to get ahead of the United States, and that it has begun to rectify this situation. The United States is reported to have formulated a plan to cut its military spending by \$64 billion or even \$100 billion by 1994, starting with the said budget cut of \$10 billion. This plan includes such drastic measures as suspending funding for SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative], on which the United States concentrated so much of its state energies during the Reagan era, and funding for the development of B-2 strategic bombers costing \$15 billion per plane.

That the United States has built up its faith in the Soviet Union as "a state deserving its trust," as President Bush

put it some time ago, is noteworthy. This trust is far more important than the practical cause and reason for disarmament.

Here we ought to turn our attention to an issue of our own. Regardless of the reason and the cause, the prospects for North-South dialogue by the end of this year are gloomy owing to the rupture in working-level Red Cross talks between the North and the South on 27 November. At present we have left open four channels for dialogue: namely, the Red Cross talks, the preliminary talks between high-level authorities, the parliamentary talks, and the sports talks between the North and the South; little is being accomplished in any of these channels.

While everyone regrets the present status of North-South relations, let us take this opportunity to direct our attention to the practical issue of disarmament between North and South Korea. This could be a very easy issue to resolve in view of the development of U.S.-Soviet relations. The United States and the Soviet Union, which had been engaged in global strategies of checking one another, succeeded in building up trust after the Soviet Union took the initiative in arms reduction, when it found itself no longer able to sustain its enormous military expenditures. A similar situation could result if either the North or the South took such an initiative and moved first.

With a GNP of \$170 billion, our country reduced its defense spending from 6 percent to 5 percent, and then to 4 percent starting in 1987. We do not intend to force a unilateral disarmament upon North Korea. We know that North Korea, which continued to escalate its arms race with us just as the Soviet Union did with the United States, now finds itself in a very difficult economic situation.

One way to get out of this difficulty is to loosen the four military lines that have been in enforcement since 1962, or reduce the Red Worker-Peasant Militia, which is a far more perfect combat organization compared to our reserve forces, and reduce the size of the regular troops and the number of tanks, self-propelled artillery, etc. These steps will be enough for us to build up trust with the North. North Korea should begin taking these steps at once. This will enable us to live in peace and prosperity with each other.

## NEW ZEALAND

### Government Condemns Latest French Nuclear Test

BK2811014489 Hong Kong AFP in English  
0119 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Wellington, Nov 28 (AFP)—France exploded one of its largest nuclear devices ever at its underground test site in French Polynesia early Tuesday [28 November], the last blast expected in this year's series, New Zealand officials said.

Seismologists at the scientific and industrial research department said the explosion, with an estimated yield of 90 kilotonnes, occurred on Fangataufa Atoll instead of the more frequently used Mururoa, southwest of Tahiti.

The blast, monitored at Rarotonga in the Cook Islands, was the eighth nuclear explosion this year and the 111th detected since France took its Pacific testing program underground in 1975.

The 90-kilotonne blast Tuesday was one of the biggest detected in the French program—second only to a 100-kilotonne device detonated November 30 last year—and followed a 30-kilotonne test on Mururoa a week ago.

New Zealand Prime Minister Geoffrey Palmer quickly condemned the latest test and said his government would press its efforts to put a halt to France's nuclear weapons program in the Pacific. He said that, judging by past practice, the eighth test should be the last of the year, adding that the French had announced they would be cutting back to six explosions annually.

"But six tests are as unacceptable to the region as eight and we will not be relaxing our efforts to have them stopped completely," Mr. Palmer said in a statement. He dismissed Paris' argument that its nuclear program was needed to maintain its deterrent force and guarantee its national security.

"In New Zealand's view, this is not the case," he said. "Rather, France is making a further contribution to the arms race and therefore to global insecurity."

New Zealand Disarmament Minister Fran Wilde called France's refusal to heed regional opposition to the tests "appalling."



## INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

## Leaders, Media Assess Pact Summit

## Jaruzelski on Summit

*LD0412215989 Warsaw PAP in English  
2126 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow, Dec 4—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski said in an interview for PAP following the Moscow summit of Warsaw Treaty states:

This summit, like the previous ones, was primarily devoted to an assessment of the international situation. It once again showed our concordance in approach, in assessment of the situation, in politics—in its general terms. The policy and stance adopted by Mikhail Gorbachev has won full approval among us as being in line with the foreign policy of states of the Warsaw Treaty.

It is true that the participants (in the meeting) were different to a large extent—the leaderships have changed in many countries. Of course we were aware that our foreign policy is being pursued in new conditions, in a period of changes taking place today in nearly all socialist countries.

Owing to its history, location and problems and tasks tackled by us today and to deep reforms and transformations, Poland is particularly interested in the process of dialogue, rapprochement between the two parts of Europe and a general rapprochement on the global scale taking place as fast and fully as possible. We can implement our national aspirations only in these conditions.

Because the Malta summit constitutes a certain step on the road to rapprochement between the superpowers, it also sets up a certain plane for a peaceful policy of all European countries belonging to the two blocs. Hence, it is very advantageous for Poland and that is why we have expressed full support for its outcome. We are counting on it bearing fruit soon, at the next summit, in the form of far-reaching disarmament steps.

This is of particular significance for us. Our initiatives, our disarmament plan is a part of these global solutions. We are also very active in the Vienna negotiations and I think that at present we are getting additional impetus for these negotiations to end in success. I am not referring to economic aspects because they are obvious. The broader and deeper East-West cooperation is in the political sphere, the more fruitful the efforts in economic cooperation can be, and these we need very much.

## Poland's Mazowiecki

*LD0412215589 Warsaw PAP in English  
2139 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow Dec 4—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki granted an interview to PAP in connection with Monday's meeting of leaders of states—parties to the Warsaw Treaty. Excerpts:

"The meeting's agenda included Mikhail Gorbachev's detailed report on, first, talks in Italy, a meeting with Pope John Paul II and, second, talks with President George Bush. I must stress here that the report's part devoted to the talk with the pope was very interesting and showed Mikhail Gorbachev's high respect for John Paul II. Mr Gorbachev put a great emphasis on the fact that it had been a very, very interesting meeting for him.

"As regards talks with President Bush, Mikhail Gorbachev presented some issues in a more detailed way. It was a sort of a review of world problems. Issues which concerned a possible progress in disarmament talks in the next six months are worth mentioning. In my opinion this is very important.

"A significant element of the meeting was the adoption of a statement by leaders of Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Union which condemned the 1968 intervention in Czechoslovakia. I am glad that this could take place at the first meeting of the Warsaw Treaty states' leaders in which I had an opportunity to participate."

## Hungary's Nemeth

*LD0512130889 Budapest Domestic Service in  
Hungarian 1100 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth by Tamas Forro and Gyorgy Toth on arrival at Budapest Airport from Moscow Warsaw Pact briefing on 5 December—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Were you surprised that at the meeting there was a unanimous condemnation of the 1968 events, or was this expected?

[Nemeth] It featured in our calculations. I was surprised inasmuch as we did not get prior information about it, but this follows naturally from previous events.

[Reporter] In the end, are you satisfied with what happened? at What level were the talks held as regards [words indistinct], including those in which we Hungarians directly participated?

[Nemeth] The briefing we were given on the summit definitely entitles us to be hopeful. cooperation and dialogue between the two superpowers is continuing on questions which are extremely (?important) and which affect us too, directly or indirectly. So, the atmosphere and mood of the meeting was definitely encouraging as regards the future.

At the same time, at a briefing of this nature, naturally a mutual exchange of opinions of the mood and meaning to which your question referred cannot be created, if only because of the shortage of time.

[Reporter] Do the two superpowers evaluate the processes in Hungary in a similar or a different way?

[Nemeth] The subject of Hungary, in this way was not on the agenda; Europe, East Europe, focal points of the world's great areas, yes, but Hungary was not highlighted separately.

[Reporter] in the wake of the Malta summit, can any changes be expected from the two superpowers in the evaluation and handling of Hungary?

[Nemeth] No, I think that the most important basic principle which was formulated by the presidents of both superpowers is that every nation chooses their own path, the chosen setup, and so on, freely and independently.

[Reporter] Did you personally find anything instructive from all that you heard about the Malta summit?

[Nemeth] I think that we must still await the lessons to be learned, and longer term conclusions should be drawn from the actions and the following steps.

[Reporter] Why did Romania not participate in the Warsaw Pact meeting?

[Nemeth] Romania was present.

[Reporter] The Hungarian communique did not bear the name of Romania.

[Nemeth] It must be a printing error; Romania was there.

[Reporter] One more question. You held talks with Premier Ryzhkov, too; the communique described the most burning questions of Hungarian-Soviet economic cooperation. What chance is there that the Hungarian surplus will be eliminated and transfer to dollar accounting?

[Nemeth] I very determinedly asked, outlining the problems and worries of this year and next year, that in the real sphere, that is in goods turnover, we should search for a solution and not move in the direction of credit agreements. Within this, I pinpointed some questions relating to product groups, raw materials, energy carriers, oil deliveries, which are of great importance for us. As regards the mechanism, I handed over the document summarizing the Hungarian Government's standpoint. This issue sphere, alongside the transfer to convertibility, use of the world market price basis, fomulates very markedly also the need to increase the independence of enterprises, that is market methods, and restricting the undertaking of state obligations. So, in our conception, these two sides are very strongly connected and are conditional upon each other. We will exchange opinions on these questions at the CEMA meeting to be held next year in Sofia, around 9 January.

[Reporter] Ryzhkov said he was understanding concerning energy deliveries to Hungary. What does this mean? Hungarians are a bit anxious as to whether there will be enough gas.

[Nemeth] Well, in the short term, this means primarily that the partner will fulfill the obligations undertaken in the contract.

[Reporter] Thank you.

### **Hungary's Nyers on Pact Decision**

*LD0412192189 Budapest Domestic Service in  
Hungarian 1730 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Text] [Announcer] Gabor Izbekhi reports from Moscow. We heard the news that an important announcement was made at the Warsaw Pact summit regarding 1968:

[Izbeki] Yes. A declaration proposed by Gorbachev condemning the 1968 military invasion of Czechoslovakia was adopted. As the declaration says, the intervention was a mistake and contradicts the basic principles of the Warsaw Pact. Thus, the Soviet Union joined the countries that had already condemned the 1968 action, and they have together demonstrated the complete termination of the Brezhnev doctrine.

Rezso Nyers, who briefed us Hungarian journalists about the 4-hour informal meeting, said that Gorbachev spoke with great satisfaction about his negotiations in Malta. Nyers added to this that in today's fast-changing world, it is extraordinarily valuable if leaders of the two great powers find a common language.

At the end of the session, leaders of all delegations gave a speech; that is why it lasted so long. Rezso Nyers spoke about the need to continue the Warsaw Pact's transformation into a political-military organization, the democratic reform of the organization, where in the place of CEMA a completely new economic organization essentially would be needed in Eastern Europe.

[Announcer] Hungarian Socialist Party Chairman Rezso Nyers and Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth were due back tonight, but due to the thick fog the Budapest Airport cannot receive planes. The two have thus remained in Moscow and presumably will fly out tomorrow.

### **Romanian Radio on '68 Intervention Ruling**

*AU0412203889 Bucharest Domestic Service in  
Romanian 2000 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Text] A meeting of leaders of Warsaw Pact member countries ended in Moscow. Our country was represented at the meeting by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Mikhail Gorbachev briefed the participants on his talks with U.S. President George Bush in Malta on 2-3 December.

The leaders of Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union present at today's Moscow meeting of party-state leaders of Warsaw Pact member countries declared that the sending of troops by their states into the CSSR in 1968 amounted to interference in the affairs of sovereign Czechoslovakia and should be condemned.

Having interrupted the process of democratic renewal in CSSR, those illegal actions had long-term negative consequences. History has confirmed the importance of using political means to settle all problems, even in the most complex international circumstances, and strictly observing the principles of sovereignty, independence, and noninterference in domestic affairs, which should govern relations among states, in keeping with the Warsaw Pact provisions.

### **Bulgarian Radio**

*AU0412202589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian  
2000 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Text] The leaders of Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Hungary, who gathered at the Moscow meeting, declared today that the entering of their countries' troops into the CSSR in 1968 was interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign country and should be denounced.

Having interrupted the process of democratic renewal in Czechoslovakia, these unlawful actions resulted in long-term, negative consequences.

History has confirmed how important it is, even in the most complicated international situation, to apply political means in order to settle any problems whatsoever and to strictly observe the principles of sovereignty, of independence, and of noninterference in each other's domestic affairs in interstate relations.

### **Pact Agrees 1968 CSSR Intervention 'Error'**

*LD0412222189 Budapest MTI in English  
2150 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow, Dec 4 (MTI)—On the proposal of Mikhail Gorbachev, the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member states held on Monday a brief consultation on the 1968 military intervention in Czechoslovakia. The parties agreed that the intervention was an error and violated the basic principles of the Warsaw Treaty. Rezso Nyers told Hungarian journalists in Moscow Monday evening.

The president of the Hungarian Socialist Party added that the Brezhnev Doctrine was no longer a matter of debate within the Warsaw Treaty. The member states unanimously rejected it.

Mr Nyers said he had raised the fact there were deep economic crises behind the current political crises in Eastern Europe. Since the member states are unable to get out of them with mere political solutions, they have to entirely transform the system of economic relations in the East European region. Mr Nyers urged the acceleration of reform of the Warsaw Treaty. This is necessitated by both the changes occurring at breathtaking speed in the majority of member states and the contacts between the blocs.

Mr Nyers said that the Romanian contribution reflected anxiety over the internal situation and policy of some member states of the Warsaw Treaty.

Mikhail Gorbachev informed the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member states on the Malta summit that paid particular attention to the European issues and East European changes. The Soviet and U.S. positions on the two German states are not diametrically opposed, Mr Gorbachev said. The parties to the summit agreed that reunification was a justified but at present untimely endeavour of the German people. Close cooperation between the two German states might be a practical solution to the German issue, he said.

As reported earlier, Budapest's Ferihegy Airport is closed to all traffic because of the thick fog. The Hungarian delegation is therefore expected to return from Moscow on Tuesday.

### **Pact Talks in Moscow Reported**

*LD0512092489 Warsaw PAP in English  
0031 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[By PAP correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, Dec 4—At a meeting of leaders of states, parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held here today, Mikhail Gorbachev briefed those present on results of his meeting with George Bush. The Soviet leader also presented results of talks he had had last week with Pope John Paul II and Italian politicians.

The meeting was attended on the Polish side by President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. Also present was PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC [Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, who stayed in Moscow on a working visit at an invitation from the CPSU CC.

The meeting lasted nearly two hours longer than scheduled because of discussion on a statement made by leaders of Bulgaria, The GDR, Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Union and condemning the intervention of those five Warsaw Treaty states in Czechoslovakia in 1968. An initiative to adopt such a document was put forward by Gorbachev.

The Moscow summit was an occasion for numerous meetings and bilateral talks. The more so that its many participants, following changes in the authorities of individual allied countries, met in this company for the first time.

During a break in the debates Gorbachev joined the Polish delegation. He displayed interest in Polish developments and the reform process started by the government. This unconventional meeting lasted about fifteen minutes. President Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke about recent events in Poland and also about meetings he had held before leaving for Moscow, including the one with Lech Walesa.

### USSR Troop Withdrawal From CSSR

AU0512151589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech  
1 Dec 89 p 7

[Jelinek commentary: "On the Issue of Soviet Troops in the CSSR"]

[Text] In his speech on 29 November, Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec broached, among other issues, the issue of the presence of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory. It is a grave matter which involves a number of things.

Three facts are equally projected in this issue:

First, the developing disarmament process, or the negotiations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states on troop and armament reductions.

Second, the political transformations in Europe and the demonstrable shift from the policy of confrontation to the establishment of a new system of international relations.

Third, provisions for ensuring the sovereignty of the Czechoslovak state under the new conditions.

As can be seen, the issue broached by the premier is a topical one and must be dealt with. In fact, the entire problem of foreign troops on the territory of other states has been a discussion topic for quite some time; the time has now come to find a solution.

The deployment of a group of Soviet troops on our territory is the consequence of the military solution of the situation existing in Czechoslovakia in August 1968. On 18 October 1968, the Soviet and Czechoslovak Governments, headed by Premiers Kosygin and Cernik, concluded an agreement on the temporary presence of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory, thus providing a legal foundation for the situation that had newly arisen. Let us underscore the term "temporary," which clearly limited the stay of Soviet troops in terms of time. More than 20 years have passed since then.

The NATO member states have accepted the emergence of a new Soviet military grouping in central Europe as a fact. Regardless of their political protests, they included it in their military plans and doctrines. When the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact states opened their talks with NATO, on the basis of a Soviet initiative and in the spirit of new political thinking, on the need to reduce military forces and armaments in Europe, the Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia were already regarded as part and parcel of the Warsaw Pact's military force. Both sides include them in reckoning the overall balance of forces between the two military-political groupings. Within the framework of unilateral disarmament measures adopted by the USSR, the Soviet Union is now withdrawing one tank division and certain other formations from its troops stationed in Czechoslovakia. Here one should also note that, up to now, the Czechoslovak side has always maintained that it is the concern of the Soviet side to

announce the number of Soviet troops on our territory. That is why the official data are not known to this very day, so that we can merely quote foreign calculations, which assess the numerical strength of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia at 80,000.

Minister Shevardnadze has expressed the USSR's stand quite unambiguously: not a single soldier beyond the borders of the Soviet state. This is a goal which must be negotiated, and the Soviet Union will do everything in its power to reach it. It is known that the United States rejects any and all unilateral steps toward a reduction of its troops in Europe. Judging by the latest information, Washington is seriously contemplating the reduction of their number on the basis of reciprocity. Thus the whole matter is developing rather favorably. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that everybody agrees that the negotiations must be in keeping with the principle of maintaining the equilibrium of the military balance of forces, and of not impairing the security interests of all or any of the states affected by this issue.

An alternative is offered here, which could be acceptable to everybody. The European states with foreign troops deployed on their territories can strive to achieve the withdrawal of these troops already during the first stage of the disarmament agreements. For instance, this stand was adopted by Hungary; and certain politicians and the majority of the public in the European states is also inclined to agree with it. At the same time these states continue to regard participation in the political-military groupings to which they belong as the guarantee of their own security. The Warsaw Pact's proposal of mutual disbandment is also on the agenda of the day.

One must consider that during the period of the policy of confrontation, the European states regarded the presence of foreign troops on their territories as an irreplaceable means of providing for their own safety. The situation has now changed. The healthy idea that safety must be primarily provided for by political means and by one's own armed forces is pushing its way to the fore. Nevertheless, every sensible and sober person understands that all states must come to an agreement on this point—in other words, that it is necessary to establish political prerequisites for the withdrawal of foreign troops, and do so on the basis of legal treaties. Agreement has already been reached on the possibility to establish these prerequisites within the framework of current all-European negotiations.

Our Army Command assures us of the high level of combat readiness of Czechoslovak troops, and our Army is sufficiently large. Still, it is also a question of the quality of military armament, an issue on which the experts have the main say. Likewise, we have already mentioned that one must not neglect the protection of our state's sovereignty. We must also consider the fact that today West German Chancellor Kohl envisages a plan for the unification of Germany and that Bonn has at its disposal the Bundeswehr—one of the best and most modern armies in the world. Moreover, the armies of four states—the United States, Britain, France, and

Canada—are deployed on FRG territory, i.e., in our immediate vicinity. In other words, there are a number of connections and questions which have to be considered. Nevertheless, it is possible to conduct negotiations and to develop efforts to find a solution. The well-considered words spoken by Premier Adamec show that our government is determined to proceed in this manner.

### **Gorbachev, CSSR Leaders View 1968 Events**

*LD0412223489 Prague CTK in English  
2154 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow Dec 4 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Karel Urbanek and Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec were received here today by Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev, whom they informed about the political situation in the country.

In Czechoslovakia the endeavor of working people and youth to speed up restructuring, make political structures more democratic and revive society is evident. Activities are also pursued by forces striving to lead the country beyond the level of socialist choice. The new Communist Party leadership proceeds from the fact that it is necessary to resolutely get rid of conservatism and act as a reviving force in the alliance with all those who respect the values of socialism and democracy.

Gorbachev stressed that communists must in time register the topical needs of revival of social life, however different the present processes in many European socialist states may seem. They have originated from the need for profound changes. The socialist idea is not dying as many people claim. On the contrary, it is being revived and shows its vitality.

Speaking about relations between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia and officials stressed that the two countries' nations have been interested in the development of equal and mutually advantageous economic and political cooperation. The two states' alliance has been playing a substantial role in preserving stability and inviolability of the postwar setup in Europe.

It was stated that the Soviet and Czechoslovak Communist Parties have identical views on the entry of troops of the five Warsaw Treaty states on Czechoslovak territory in 1968. It was an act of interfering in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs which runs counter to the norms of ties between sovereign states.

Under discussion were also conditions of the stay of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia. It was decided to speak about this issue at consultations of the two countries' respective state bodies. Reduction of the number of armed forces and armament provided that all-European balance is preserved and inviolability of borders of all European states is ensured is a necessary guarantee of stability in Europe and further development of the Helsinki process.

Both sides also expressed the endeavour to strengthen cooperation between the Soviet and Czechoslovak Communist Parties.

Participating in the meeting were also Nikolay Ryzhkov, Eduard Shevardnadze and Aleksandr Yakovlev.

### **Shevardnadze Receives CSSR's Johanes**

*LD0412202189 Prague CTK in English  
1847 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow Dec 4 (CTK)—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze received here today Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes at his own request, on the occasion of a meeting of leading representatives of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

They discussed the question of the temporary stay of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory and decided to start Soviet-Czechoslovak consultations on this issue. They stated that the question must be solved in harmony with the all-European disarmament process.

### **Delegations Arrive for Moscow Pact Summit**

#### **CSSR's Urbanek, Johanes, Adamec**

*LD0312215389 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak  
2100 GMT 3 Dec 89*

[Text] Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec arrived in Moscow today. Arriving there with him were Minister of Foreign Affairs Jaromir Johanes; Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee; and Ondrej Saling, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. They are in Moscow to attend a meeting of leaders of the Warsaw Pact states, at which Mikhail Gorbachev will brief them on the outcome of his talks with George Bush.

#### **GDR's Krenz, Modrow, Fischer**

*LD0412101989 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 0957 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—A GDR delegation, which includes State Council Chairman Egon Krenz, Prime Minister Hans Modrow, and Foreign Minister Uskar Fischer, has arrived in Moscow this morning. It will take part in a meeting of leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact member states, scheduled to begin this afternoon in the Soviet capital. In the course of the meeting, Soviet Head of State Mikhail Gorbachev will inform the representatives of the allied countries of the results of his negotiations with U.S. President George Bush.

Before the Warsaw Pact summit, a discussion between Prime Minister Modrow and his Soviet counterpart Nikolay Ryzhkov is planned. Modrow told journalists

that he will take the opportunity to inform his counterpart of events in the GDR. Also on the agenda are questions of economic cooperation between the GDR and the USSR.

Modrow said: "I spoke yesterday with the committee preparing the party congress and have been given a mandate to some extent from the committee to represent it here if party matters are discussed".

#### **Polish Leaders**

*LD0412134489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish  
1300 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski have arrived in Moscow for a meeting of the Warsaw Pact members' heads of state. The Polish delegation was welcomed at Vnukovo Airport by the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

#### **ADN on Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Communique**

*LD3011132889 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 1040 GMT 30 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest (ADN)—The Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee underlined in a communique published on Thursday [30 November] in Budapest its consistent commitment to a policy of disarmament and constructive dialogue between the military blocs in Europe. The ministers held discussions in the Hungarian capital on the perspectives of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, while taking into account the decisions on this by governments of the allied countries on their reorganization and the course of the Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces and arms in Europe.

In the communique, the advances achieved to date in improving international relations and reducing tension and confrontation are stressed. At the same time, the great contribution which the Warsaw Pact member states have made in the area of disarmament is emphasized. This has opened up further perspectives for new measures to consolidate peace, security, and confidence. A consistent expression of this was the unilateral measures carried out to date by the Warsaw Pact states on reductions in armed forces and arms, on shaping their defense character, and on reductions in arms expenditures.

Satisfaction is expressed on the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. meeting, the new initiatives for reducing strategic offensive weapons, on limiting nuclear weapons tests, on banning chemical weapons, and on destroying all the stocks of these weapons. The results of the meetings between representatives of the highest military leadership organs of the Warsaw Pact and NATO states, in particular, of the defense ministers of the USSR and the United States, were assessed positively. At the same time, it is pointed out that the positive processes which have begun still do not have an irreversible character and

that a fundamental change in the area of disarmament has still not occurred. The military budgets and the programs for the perspectivist development of the armed forces of the United States and other NATO countries still aim at preserving military strength as the main instrument of their foreign policy. According to the communique, disquiet is caused by the fact that NATO holds fast to the strategy of deterrence and is concerned about excluding naval armed forces from the disarmament negotiations.

It is stressed in the document that the situation in Europe necessitates the commencement of negotiations on reducing and liquidating tactical nuclear weapons.

With regard to the joint and national military doctrines of the Warsaw Pact states, the directions of the further perfection of the Joint Armed Forces was further drawn up. The military buildup will take place in such a way that a sufficient and reliable defense is always guaranteed.

The communique says that the next session of the committee will take place in Berlin.

#### **Warsaw Pact Defense Committee Communique Viewed**

*LD2911223289 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 2146 GMT 29 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The defense ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states attach great importance to the establishment of relations which are free of confrontation relations and include a constructive dialogue with NATO. A communique published in Budapest today at the end of a meeting of the Defense Ministers' Committee also points out that despite all the positive changes in East-West relations in the disarmament sphere, no fundamental change has yet been put into effect. The participants unanimously supported a structuring of the armies which will guarantee a reliable defense in the national framework and within the alliance.

Speaking to ADN, GDR Defense Minister Admiral Theodor Hoffmann said they discussed how the armed forces should look following the new military doctrine adopted by the alliance in 1987. He pointed out that the political character of the Warsaw Pact has priority over military elements. This trend will continue to develop in the future. This has also been underlined in the meeting between the ministers and Hungarian head of government Miklos Nemeth.

Of course, the current changes in the Warsaw Pact countries was discussed, the minister said. The NVA [National People's Army] is on the brink of far-reaching military reform. This is a matter of refashioning the relationship between the people and the army. In the future, only decisions by the People's Chamber and the

government will be decisive for the latter. They are aiming for a smaller but more modern and well-led army with new structures.

In this context, Minister Hoffmann announced that the first measures for improving the living conditions of conscripts will take effect in December. Included in this are new pass and leave regulations as well as the abolition of early morning sports. The army is also considering introducing the 5-day week. Very intensive work is in progress on forms of democratic consultation with soldiers.

#### **Pact Experts Discuss CW Control Measures**

*LD2711224989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1902 GMT 27 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Experts from the Warsaw Pact countries met in Berlin today for an exchange of experiences and opinions on their countries' efforts to control the export of chemicals which are designed for peaceful purposes, but which could also be used for the manufacture of chemical weapons. Such measures were part of the endeavors to bring about swift agreement on a treaty banning chemical weapons, according to a communication from the GDR Foreign Ministry. The experts had apparently welcomed the results of the conferences against chemical weapons held this year in Paris and Canberra.

### **CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

#### **75,000 Soviet Troops To Withdraw From CSSR**

##### **Announcement of Withdrawal**

*LD0112000189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2300 GMT 30 Nov 89*

[Text] Lieutenant-General Eduard Vorobyev, commander of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in the CSSR, has said that some 75,000 members of the Soviet Army are to leave the CSSR definitively. However, he did not give any precise date.

In an interview for British television, Gen Vorobyev also said that the Soviet units did not intend to interfere in internal developments in the CSSR.

##### **RUDE PRAVO on Withdrawal**

*LD0112092389 Prague CTK in English 0753 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague Dec 1 (CTK)—The question of the stay of Soviet forces in Czechoslovak territory as raised by Premier Ladislav Adamec last Wednesday is topical and must be dealt with, RUDE PRAVO wrote today.

The daily added that the whole problem of the stay of foreign forces on the territory of foreign states has been discussed for already a long time and the time has come now for a solution to be found.

The stationing of a group of Soviet forces on Czechoslovak territory is the consequence of the military solution of the situation in Czechoslovakia in August 1968. The Soviet government of Premier Aleksey Kosygin and the Czechoslovak government of Premier Oldrich Cernik signed an agreement on a temporary stay of Soviet forces in Czechoslovakia, i.e. with a time limit. And now already more than twenty years have passed, the daily said.

The Czechoslovak side has as yet held the stand that the announcement of the number of Soviet armed forces in Czechoslovakia is the affair of the Soviet side. Therefore no official figure has been given to date. Foreign sources estimate the number of Soviet soldiers and army officers staying now in Czechoslovakia at some 80,000.

The paper pointed out that at the time of the policy of confrontation European states considered the presence of foreign forces on their territories as an irreplaceable means to ensure their own security. "However, the situation has changed. The sound idea that security must be ensured first of all by political means and our own armed forces is gaining ground. Every reasonable and sober man understands that an agreement of all states is necessary, i.e. that political preconditions on the basis of a legal agreement must be created for the withdrawal of foreign forces," the daily said.

##### **Peace Committee Asks for Withdrawal**

*AU0112144989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Nov 89 p 6*

[Text] Prague (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee has sent to the highest Soviet representative, Mikhail Gorbachev, a telegram which states:

We are turning to you, during your meeting with President Bush, to take a joint step and focus attention on bridging the differences between the blocs and on dissolving at least the NATO and Warsaw Pact military organizations, on the simultaneous removal of any foreign military presence and foreign military bases.

We are calling on you, on the Soviet Union to take a step in that direction and withdraw all its troops from CSSR territory in the shortest possible time.

##### **Urbanek Statement on Moscow Warsaw Pact Meeting**

*LD0512200189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Esteemed listeners, I have only just received the following report:

Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, after the return of the Czechoslovak delegation from the meeting

of Warsaw Pact member countries in Moscow today gave the following statement to representatives of the mass media:

[Begin Urbanek recording in Czech] Esteemed fellow citizens, comrades!

As you know, in recent days in Moscow a meeting of leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact member states was held. I attended it, together with Federal Premier Comrade Ladislav Adamec.

Our government officials will brief you about the results of the talks concerning the Czechoslovak state and its foreign policy. Allow me to brief you on the proceedings of a conversation which I and Comrade Adamec had with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and which concerned, in a prominent place, relations between our communist parties.

Comrade Gorbachev and other representatives of the CPSU were briefed in detail by us on the present situation in Czechoslovakia. We told them for what reasons and with what force the broad current of social criticism of administrative-bureaucratic methods of management of the society has developed; and what broad support the movement of working people and youth for democratic changes and renewal of socialism enjoys. We briefed them on how the new leadership of the party is acting in the present complex situation. We stressed that we are implementing a fundamental turn in the policy of the CPCZ. We are making efforts to rid the party of conservatism, and to enter the path of a struggle for a democratic and socialist society which will be a sequel to the democratic traditions of our people, the inspiration sources of the renewal process, and also the new initiatives connected with the activity of Mikhail Gorbachev.

In the course of our talks we also dealt with the tragic events of August 1968—on which, at the Moscow meeting, an official stand was adopted by leading representatives of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland and the Soviet Union.

They said that the entry of their troops into Czechoslovakia was an unjustified intervention in our internal affairs, and condemned it resolutely.

We jointly stated that, just as the new leadership of the CPCZ, which condemned the troops' entry in its draft Action Program as unfounded and erroneous decision, so the CPSU holds a view that it was an interference in our country's internal affairs, which is incompatible with the norms of relations between sovereign states. It has had long-term unfavorable consequences, both for development in our country and for the entire international communist and progressive movement. It will be necessary to carry out a thorough historical analysis of the causes, proceedings and consequences of these events. Even today we can draw the first, necessary practical conclusions.

First of all, as is stated in the draft Action Program, the new leadership of the CPCZ identifies fully with inspiration sources of the Prague Spring 1968. We consider invalid the document "Lessons From the Crisis-Ridden Development," which justified the liquidation of the reform efforts and the gradual renewal of bureaucratic methods of management after the year 1968. We are in favor of a full political rehabilitation of all those who, for their disagreement with the entry of the troops, have been forced to leave the party. We offer our hand to them. We appeal to them for cooperation in the interests of developing a democratic, socialist society.

Together with Comrade Gorbachev we have also expressed a firm will to continue to deepen further the comradely cooperation between the CPSU and the CPCZ on the basis of equality, and solidarity.

Both sides will assert the principle of sovereignty and independence of every country and noninterference in its internal affairs. Both sides will support the development, and equal and mutually advantageous economic and political cooperation between our countries, which is of a permanent and fundamental importance for Czechoslovakia. In our opinion this is an irreplaceable guarantee of the security of our borders, and the position of our country in the postwar European arrangement, above all, making the Munich agreement void. In the broad context of the European peace process and relations between the East and West, we also talked about other important questions, including the stationing of the Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia. It has been agreed that the relevant state organs will hold talks about them, and this from the point of view of ensuring the same security and inviolability of borders of European states, including Czechoslovakia.

Both sides will support the course of the Helsinki process, whose success will help overcome the military division of Europe and thus also solve the question of the stay of foreign troops on the territory of individual states.

We also exchanged views on the stormy processes of the renewal of socialism which are taking place in the individual socialist countries. We agreed that they have been evoked by the necessity of overcoming the consequences of deformations of socialism, reviving its humanistic spirit and democratic essence. We are jointly convinced that in this form socialism will demonstrate its ability to renew itself and will win the support of broad popular masses.

I shall not talk in detail about internal affairs today. I will return to them in the next few days. I only want to stress that from the point of view of the results of the summit talks it is obvious that our current events must be seen and understood also in the all-European context. Without it, the democratization movement in our country would be unthinkable. This only supports the demand for all the forces on our political scene to respect the joint interests of East and West, so that European



stability might be secured and a balance of interests respected, so that no upheavals—which would jeopardize the hopeful Helsinki process—might take place. This requires consistently adhering to the principle of the current crisis being solved by political means, by means of a dialogue, while respecting the principles of political culture and the necessary tolerance.

We must all contribute toward preventing confrontation, chaos, and disruption, and strive for national understanding. Everybody bears his share of responsibility for fighting off extreme trends of all kinds, so that there is no threat to people and property, smooth running of production, supplies and services to the population.

We are of the opinion that the most important thing today is to lead the country out of the crisis, onto the path of a peaceful life, in the spirit of democracy and socialism, as it has been expressed in the draft Action Program which was published by the new leadership of the party recently. I should like to assure you that the new leadership of the CPCZ is proceeding in this spirit and will also do so in the future, although attempts do occur from time to time to cast doubts on the honesty of our intentions by means of various doubtful leaflets. Our practical policies are evidence of our determination consistently to follow the new path which we have selected. We are convinced that the ideals of socialism have been firmly rooted in our society and have today—and will have in future—in their renewed form, the support of the overwhelming majority of our people. [end recording]

### Future of Warsaw Pact Analyzed

*LD1811030189 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 17 Nov 89*

[Text] Speculations about the future of the Warsaw Treaty alliance are discussed in Radio Prague's editorial.

The European socialist states are living through a period of sweeping changes which, until recently, had been thought impossible. Due to different conditions in individual states, the changes are taking place at different speeds and in a different way, but in all countries they affect both the economy and policy.

In some countries, political pluralism has been created which in Poland, for instance, has resulted in the fact that the until recently ruling Communist Party has lost its majority in the Government. Some circles in the West interpret these phenomena as a foreshadowing of the end of the Warsaw Treaty. They claim that this military political grouping will disintegrate in the near future, because some member countries are reassessing some values which, in the past, were the basis of the alliance. But the reality is different. Despite the current internal changes. All Warsaw Treaty countries stress the need for adhering to the alliance's commitments.

This political and military alliance is evidently also undergoing changes. The independence of the member

countries is being increased, and international political dialogue is being considered as vital for accelerating the process which would eliminate confrontation, develop East-West cooperation, and create a common system of collective security in Europe, in which there will be no place either for the Warsaw Treaty or NATO.

To testify to this effort, the Warsaw Treaty has submitted a proposal to disband both groupings. As long as this is not the fact, the Warsaw Treaty will be an effective common instrument for reaching this status, a status in which not only the Warsaw Treaty countries, but also all Europeans are vitally interested.

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### National Defense Council Members Removed

*LD0612155789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1549 GMT 6 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Following a decision by the GDR State Council on Wednesday, all members of the National Defense Council have been relieved of their posts. Egon Krenz has resigned from his office as chairman of the National Defense Council.

The State Council decided on an amnesty on the same day.

### Deputy Defense Minister on Arms Sales

*LD0612203189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1851 GMT 6 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Ministry for National Defense and the GDR National People's Army [NVA] do not deal in arms, stated Deputy Defense Minister General Joachim Goldbach to ADN on Wednesday. There were facilities and trade organizations in the GDR, among them the IMES [expansion unknown] company, which had carried this out on behalf of the government. The NVA itself had nothing to do with this trade, nor with the arms store at Kaveslort.

Goldbach denied assertions that a number of tanks from dissolved NVA regiments had been technically reconditioned and shipped to Ethiopia via Rostock. Ethiopia had been sold, in all, 200 tanks pro forma on the basis of a decision by Erich Honecker, former chairman of the State Council and the National Defense Council, without the money having been called in at any time. Of these tanks, 152 had been sent to Ethiopia by September 1989. The NVA had only prepared them, the execution of such affairs was done via the Foreign Trade Ministry.

These tanks were taken out of the stocks of the NVA in anticipation of further reductions as a result of the Vienna negotiations. They were not connected with the 600 tanks that had been reduced unilaterally. The remaining 48 tanks for Ethiopia were barred from export at the instruction of Minister for National Defense Theodor Hoffmann.

### Public Figures Demand Total Disarmament

LD0612224889 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 1825 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Public figures from all sections of the population today in Berlin demanded total military disarmament of the GDR by the year 2000 as a unilateral concession. In an "Appeal of the 89" they call on all parties, groupings, and all peace-loving people of goodwill to support this in a referendum.

At an international press conference, writers Rosemarie Schuder and Rudolf Hirsch, theologian Prof Dr Heinrich Fink, the antifascist Kurt Julius Goldstein, and biologist Johannes Schoenher stressed that this initiative was in line with the further democratization of society in the GDR. It was a signal for worldwide total disarmament. [passage omitted]

### Gera Citizens Tour National Security Bunkers

LD0612152789 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 1456 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Gera (ADN)—Today, after several days of trying, citizens in the small community of Tautenhain in the GDR area [bezirk] of Gera gained access to secret underground bunkers belonging to the Office for National Security. In the presence of district [kreis] state lawyers and representatives of the office, they viewed the installations that contained, among other things, a complete, fully functioning intelligence central-control office and, in aboveground installations, extensive stores of intelligence and medical technology. The state prosecutor sealed the accesses.

Residents report that vehicles have been continually observed coming and going in the last few days. Ashes which were still glowing implied that papers had been destroyed. The citizens demanded an immediate halt to construction work still being carried out on the underground extension of the installation. A member of the office staff stated, however, that the building of the extension is to be hurried along in order that the installation may be used as a supply store for pharmaceutical technology for the area. Installations already available for this are in desperate shape and supplies for the hospitals could scarcely still be covered.

In reply to a telephone enquiry from ADN, however, area doctor Professor Johannes Gessner said he did not yet know anything about this.

### National Security Chief in Gera Dismissed

LD0712110289 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 1046 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Gera (ADN)—The head, to date, of the Office for National Security in Gera, Major General Dieter Dan-griess, was relieved of his function effective 7 December. The press spokesmen of the office said this to ADN.

The functions was given to Lieutenant Colonel Michael Trostorff.

### Army Leaders Appeal to Troops To 'Secure Peace'

LD0612194689 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 1846 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The leadership of the NVA [National People's Army] and the GDR's Frontier Troops has called on the people's soldiers to fulfill their constitutional task of defending the GDR calmly and reliably during these fateful hours. In an appeal to the citizens of the GDR conveyed to ADN today, the citizens of the GDR are requested "to share our concern for securing peace and to support our efforts for this. Only together can we maintain the sovereignty of the GDR and save our country from anarchy and chaos."

The NVA's systems on land, on sea, and in the air required full commitment. Any interference could summon up dangers for the GDR's security, it is stressed. Disturbances of law and order at military establishments should not be permitted. Illegal access to weapons, ammunition, and fuel should be prevented and danger to citizens and soldiers ruled out. Order was to be maintained on the state frontier. A contribution was being made to maintaining vital social functions by high performances in the national economy, in transport, and the health service, as well as in local supply institutions, in close alliance with all sections of the people.

The soldiers are called on to secure peace at the center of Europe reliably, together with the forces of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states.

### Delegation Head on Vienna CFE Talks

AU1311091789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 8 Nov 89 p 5

[Interview With Ambassador Klaus-Dieter Ernst, head of the GDR delegation at the negotiations on conventional forces in Europe, by Olaf Standke: "Vienna: Hopes and Obstacles"; date and place not given]

[Text] Question: The signals from Vienna's Hofburg Conference Center are contradictory. On the one hand, there is the intention to put a complete treaty on the table in 1990; on the other, so far it has not even been possible to agree on the definition of a tank. How do these things fit?

Answer: First of all, the positive things: I think that we have a sensible working structure and a sensible atmosphere—businesslike, subject-oriented, and very specific. Both sides have submitted numerous working papers and have moved toward each other in conceptual questions. One example: The Warsaw Pact proposed six spheres of reductions. Originally, NATO wanted to exclude airplanes, helicopters, and personnel strengths

and to limit itself only to tanks, armored combat vehicles, and artillery systems. Now we are negotiating on all categories. A common definition has already been found for artillery.

Question: Moving toward each other—this also means readiness for compromises by our side.

Answer: Correct, and this readiness exists, of course. Thus, with the recently presented working paper on the question of combat planes coming under the tactical or frontal aviation and combat helicopters, we have tried to take into consideration the positions of the NATO states and their security interests. NATO conceded this, but it is not yet satisfied. In this field we have to have further negotiations.

Question: And the reverse side of the coin?

Answer: In short, if we want to present a treaty next year, the current speed of negotiations is not sufficient. The details of what is to be reduced and how these reductions are to be carried out involve a number of still open, complicated questions.

Question: You paid tribute to the other side's steps, which promote negotiations. On the other hand, one has repeatedly gained the impression that NATO wants one-sided advantages.

Answer: In particular, from NATO headquarters, we hear. An agreement? This is possible immediately, but on our conditions. NATO is a purely defensive alliance, and thus the demand for ensuring an inability to attack does not apply to it at all.

Question: What will be most important at the fourth round of negotiations, which will start on 9 November?

Answer: There are still differences of opinion on the question of planes. We still have considerable contradictions concerning troop strengths; among other things, NATO wants to exclude the 150,000 soldiers from NATO states who are stationed in the FRG. Concerning the agreement on regional thresholds, NATO wants to ignore the technical equipment in its depots. And it is also important to find solutions for the regional differentiation of the reduction area between the Atlantic and the Urals. These are the main problems now. At the same time, the five definitions of the elements of reduction, which are still lacking, have to be found. Finally, we have to bring the existing proposals on verification, information, and stabilizing measures closer to each other.

Question: These almost seem to be too many issues for one round.

Answer: It is difficult to say whether all this can be managed within 6 weeks. The entire process certainly also needs political stimuli. Therefore, we proposed a meeting of the foreign ministers at the beginning of next year.

Question: An important problem in Vienna is verification. While in the past the socialist countries have practically been accused of "being afraid of verification," it is now shown that some Western countries are intensively resisting far-reaching inspections in armament enterprises.

Answer: Our opinion is: Those who say yes to comprehensive arms reductions, to a new security structure in Europe, also have to say yes unreservedly to the verification of such agreements. We need a sensible, effective, and also financially realistic verification system, with on-site inspections, observation posts, the use of technical means, etc.

Question: It is also striking that the Western side often speaks about a first agreement in Vienna.

Answer: First of all, we want an agreement that covers the six categories I mentioned at the beginning. However, this certainly does not reach the goal of the entire negotiations—both sides' inability to attack. Thus, we will have to think about further steps.

Question: We spoke about differences within NATO. Are there not also specific national interests within the Warsaw Pact?

Answer: Yes, of course; this is normal. They arise from the geographical location, historical experiences, political priorities, etc. The clearer the interests of every member state become, the easier it is, in my view, to formulate common positions. The GDR, for instance, is not very happy about the NATO proposal to concentrate 60 percent of all allowable tanks in the Western part of central Europe. We are the first to be confronted with them. Expressing our interests in this connection is not only our right but our duty if we want to pursue a sensible policy for our citizens. However, despite all the problems, cooperation among the seven alliance states is in general proceeding well.

### **Spokesman Supports Non-Proliferation Treaty**

*AU0311112289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 1 Nov 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "GDR in Favor of Full Universality of Non-Proliferation Treaty"]

[Text] East Berlin—The spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry, Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, used the fact that the GDR ratified the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) exactly 20 years ago as an occasion to stress the topicality of the obligation to hold talks on disarmament, particularly in the nuclear field, included in the treaty.

The GDR will not only continue to consistently support the observance and the strengthening of the NPT, but will also, in the spirit of Article IV of the treaty, advocate further measures to achieve arms control and disarmament, the spokesman pointed out. The GDR considers a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons as well as a comprehensive halt to nuclear tests to be very

urgent. It views the USSR's initiative for the unilateral stop of the production of highly enriched uranium for military purposes as a practical step toward nuclear disarmament.

In addition, the GDR supports the proposal submitted at the 44th meeting of the UN General Assembly aimed at concluding an international agreement on a halt and a ban of the production of fissionable material for military purposes and at using the extensive experiences of the International Atomic Energy Authority to verify this. Mikhail Gorbachev's most recent initiative to rid the Baltic Sea from nuclear weapons has also met with a positive response in the GDR.

In connection with the NPT, the GDR considers it absolutely necessary to ensure its full universality. Above all, it is important to include the states with significant nuclear activities—such as South Africa and Israel. The close cooperation between these two states in the nuclear-military sphere has been a cause of serious concern for quite some time, the spokesman stressed.

#### **Combat Weapons Withdrawn From Enterprises**

*LD0512195389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1848 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The spokesman for the Interior Ministry informed ADN today that, with immediate effect, arms and technical and special equipment of the combat groups is being withdrawn completely from the enterprises to establishments of the organs of the Ministry for Internal Affairs.

Armored personnel carriers, mortars, recoilless guns, and twin-barrel antiaircraft flak guns are involved.

Armories containing rifles, and to date administered by combat group commanders, will be taken over by the German People's Police. All measures will be taken to ensure the safety of the transfer and reliable protection by the German People's Police.

#### **Secret Arms Firm in Rostock**

##### **Firm Discovered**

*LD0212170289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1517 GMT 2 Dec 89*

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—Residents of the Rostock rural district today unmasked the IMES GMBH in Kavelstorf, which has trade relations with countries in the Middle East, Africa, and South America, as a secret arms-dealing firm. The last overseas consignments were loaded and shipped from Rostock docks at the end of October. More batches of arms and ammunition were standing ready in an enormous corrugated iron shed with a railroad and highway link, and, according to statements by IMES Director General Erhardt Wichert, were to be dispatched in about 2 weeks.

In view of the storing of thousands of full boxes of ammunition, firearms and other military hardware in a manner that mocked all safety standards, residents expressed their outrage at how carelessly such amounts of arms had been piled up right next to residential houses. The IMES GMBH is part of the commercial coordination department under State Secretary Dr Alexander Schalck-Golodowski. The hard currency gained from the arms dealing was paid into this department's accounts at the GDR's Foreign Trade Bank, journalists learned during their visit to the depot. The director general could give no information as to what use the money was put.

The shocked and distressed citizens demanded the enterprise's immediate liquidation.

##### **Trade Official Suspected**

*LD0312124489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1204 GMT 3 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The press office of the GDR State Prosecutor's Office has given the following statement to ADN:

On 2 December 1989 at 17.30 [local time], a representative from New Forum called on a state prosecutor in Rostock and gave information against the IMES GmbH [company] Kavelstorf enterprise in the Rostock rural district, because there was suspicion of arms dealing. Investigations by the State Prosecutor's Office and the criminal police revealed that handguns, appropriate ammunition, and lorries are stored in the enterprise. The storerooms were sealed last night to safeguard further investigations.

Measures to ascertain the whereabouts of Alexander Schalck-Golodowski [state secretary in Ministry of Foreign Trade] revealed that he conducted economic negotiations in the FRG 2 December and he returned from them to the GDR at about 1500 [local time]. Today at around 0300 [local time] lawyer Prof Wolfgang Vogel reported that Alexander Schalck-Golodowski contacted him from an unknown place outside the GDR and asked him to represent him. A search has been instituted.

##### **Low Flying Prohibited**

*LD0412132589 Hamburg DPA in German 1255 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The National People's Army has prohibited low flying in the Kavelstorf area near Rostock, where an enormous arsenal of weapons of the IMES GmbH foreign trade enterprise was discovered this weekend by GDR citizens. Until the stores are cleared, all air traffic within a 5-km radius and a height of 1,200 meters is banned, the GDR Ministry of Defense confirmed today to the ADN news agency. The measures were imposed immediately after the secret arms depot was discovered.

**Foreign Ministry on Company's Arms Trade***LD0512195889 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 1627 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The company IMES GmbH has not been under any obligation to acquire GDR Foreign Ministry approval, the ministry notes in a press statement today. This statement, which came in connection with questions raised by citizens to the ministry regarding information about the company supplying arms to developing countries, has been passed to ADN. It states that this concern's activities were of a purely commercial nature and had nothing to do with the GDR's foreign policy.

This did not apply to supplies of noncivilian goods that were made to befriend states, at their request, to repel external aggression and to defend their achievements, the statement said. For example, support against military attacks had been granted to the People's Republic of Angola. The supplies accorded with the understanding of solidarity and with international law.

However, to the degree that the change from confrontation to cooperative solutions of global, regional, and interstate problems is advancing, there is less and less justification for the supply of military goods to Third World countries, the spokesman's statement says. In particular, the experiences of recent years show—and the recognition of this was being felt more and more—that conflicts cannot be solved militarily. There followed from this insight the need—which must apply to all sides—to abandon everything that makes possible the continuation of military conflicts in the Third World. For GDR foreign policy, the sole aim could and must therefore be to contribute to a peaceful solution to the problems in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Whether and in what cases and in what forms the GDR should in the future cooperate in the noncivilian area with Third World states, will be reserved to a democratic decision, the press statement says.

On the same day the GDR Defense Ministry spokesman, Lieutenant Colonel Uwe Hempel, said there is no connection between IMES GmbH near Kavelstorf and the NVA [National People's Army] establishment at Laage. He strongly rejected rumors that arms and ammunition had been taken from the IMES warehouse to the Army establishment by truck. The establishment's commander was immediately available to relevant investigating organs for clarification of the matter.

The People's Navy Command military prosecutor, Sea Captain Holland-Moritz, was made head of an investigating commission, which has already begun work.

**Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky Visits GDR for Talks****Meets Modrow***LD2411123489 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 1141 GMT 24 Nov 89*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Today in Berlin, GDR Premier Dr Hans Modrow and Austrian Federal Chancellor Dr Franz Vranitzky discussed possibilities for further expanding bilateral relations. Modrow explained to his guest, who had come to the GDR on an official working visit at Modrow's invitation, the process of comprehensive renewal of socialist society in the GDR. The GDR politician stressed that the yardstick and guiding principle of his government's foreign and security policy were actions serving peace, international understanding, and security.

The GDR is opening up to a world in which mutual interdependence emerged ever more clearly, said the host. The GDR favors overcoming the division of Europe, which could not be an overcoming of the different social orders. Existing borders and alliance membership of the states are a fundamental element of European security.

The aim today is to advance the CSCE process, in which all principles and recommendations of the CSCE document are consistently implemented, said the government chief. The GDR stood by this obligation in its own country and in relations with other states. It attached great importance to European policy and gave priority to all initiatives for a European home.

The GDR prime minister and Austrian federal chancellor expressed satisfaction about the fact that bilateral relations have for a long time been developing without problems and have reached a high level. The trusting political dialogue in many spheres has decisively contributed to this.

The talk was attended on the GDR side by Foreign Minister Dr Gerhard Beil, who warmly greeted the federal chancellor and his entourage at Berlin-Schoenefeld airport this morning. Dr Vranitzky is accompanied by the Cabinet chief of the federal chancellor, Dr Johann Sereinig, and envoy Frau Dr Eva Nowotny, special adviser to the federal chancellor, as well as other public figures.

Hans Modrow greeted his guest in front of the official seat of the Council of Ministers. Both government heads answered initial questions from journalists there. Asked about expectations of his GDR visit, Franz Vranitzky pointed to the preparation of the agreement on the main focus for economic cooperation between both countries for 1990. This had now to be given its political blessing, which would surely take place today. It should thereby give a sign that the bilateral cooperation, which had shown itself to be very positive over many years, will be further continued and improved.

The bilateral cooperation should, Vranitzky said further, be seen from the viewpoint of the reforms taking place at present in the GDR. He saw that as constructive; one should cooperate as before on the basis of word and deed, not on the basis of any kind of attempted patronizing. That was not his way of doing things.

Following the meeting between both politicians, the GDR prime minister hosted a luncheon in the Palais Unter den Linden in Berlin in honor of the Austrian federal chancellor. Both politicians praised in brief toasts their talks today as a good opportunity to continue the traditional political dialogue between the GDR and Austria.

During his stay in the GDR capital Vranitzky will meet in the course of the day with representatives of the Christian Democratic Union, the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and New Forum. Then he intends to meet the governing mayor of Berlin (West) for a discussion. [passage omitted]

#### **Modrow, Vranitzky Comment**

*LD2411153789 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 1304 GMT 24 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The path to European peace could only be reached through real disarmament. "For that reason active peace policy will continue in the future to be part of the GDR's identity." This was stated by Prime Minister Dr Hans Modrow this afternoon during a luncheon for Austrian Federal Chancellor Dr Hans Vranitzky. Modrow said he was "gratified that we largely agree in our talks on the questions of disarmament and strengthening of European peace." The GDR regarded cooperative security as a system of political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian relations among the states of Europe as a goal worth seeking. States with different social orders were firm, democratic building blocks of the future common European home. The existence of states in the present borders and their alliance membership remained a basic element of European security. There must be no uncertainty about this.

The prime minister thanked his guest for the interest which the latter and the population of Austria—which regarded the GDR in the broad sense as a neighboring country—showed in the current process of development in the GDR. "Our present, extremely constructive talks as well as the economic agreement which we have just signed bear out our optimism that we will not only maintain the good state of our relations but continue our cooperation on a higher level. The GDR is deeply interested in this. This also includes new forms of direct cooperative relations between enterprises and institutions of our countries, which better meet the requirements of international development. In this sense the GDR is very open to proposals from Austrian partners."

In his reply Dr Vranitzky thanked him for the opportunity to tackle an important program within a working talk arranged at extremely short notice to also enable an

important signal to be set in the two countries, but hopefully also beyond that in central Europe. He agreed with his host that the economic and cultural relations as well as other indirect possibilities for contacts between representatives of the two countries and citizens could serve as a good model for how European states with different political orientation deal with each other over the years and decades.

Vranitzky stated: "We signed an important treaty today. We agreed to aim for further cooperation above and beyond this." He learned with great satisfaction and gratification that the GDR prime minister will soon take part in a discussion on Austrian television, and he was certain it will make a further contribution to an understanding of what are the premier's intentions in this country. It was in particular this understanding of one another, finding out what the other side is planning, what it is aiming at and where it would like to go that is an important contribution toward the peoples understanding one another. "For it will not be sufficient for us to sign treaties here, it will be necessary for each people to understand what is really taking place in the other country and what aims are being realized."

At the official residence of the Council of Ministers chairman, Hans Modrow and Franz Vranitzky signed an agreement on points of emphasis in economic cooperation between the GDR and the Republic of Austria in 1990.

The agreement built on the solid economic relations to date between the GDR and Austria, it says in a press release conveyed to ADN. The parties had spoken in favor of, starting from the traditionally good relations in imports and exports, promoting and developing industrial cooperation between enterprises and combines in the GDR and Austrian firms to a greater extent in the future. Immediately after the Austrian federal chancellor's visit the GDR side would give its first ideas on this to its Austrian partner.

Discussions would be held on this in December of this year both with the Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and the Austrian Nationalized Industries Holding Company. During the talks Dr Vranitzky emphasized Austria's readiness to closely and pragmatically cooperate with enterprises, combines and economic management bodies in the GDR, says the press release. To this end visible examples and results in industrial cooperation should "quickly" be achieved. Included in this are the exchange of environmental protection technology, cooperation in the traditional area of heavy engineering as well as the import and export of consumer goods, as well as GDR industry's export products.

The GDR premier gave an interview to Austrian journalists in front of the official seat of the prime minister. He said in response to a relevant question that he expected a businesslike attitude and trust in the forthcoming talks. This conviction was based on the good

relations which have existed between the GDR and Austria for many years. In his view the current situation in the GDR promoted not only the continuation but also expansion of the tradition of visits by the Austrian Government chief. He was very pleased that the first Western head of government to come to the GDR after his accession to office was Franz Vranitzky, a representative of a neutral country. Bilateral economic cooperation can be further expanded precisely on the basis of today's meeting. He was convinced that promising results would emerge from the consultations.

Asked about the future of socialism in the GDR, Hans Modrow referred to his government statement. The concept he submitted was aimed at the renewal of socialism. He did not anticipate a breakdown of that social order but a situation which has also come about in other countries, in which one had to think afresh and seek new beginnings. Capitalism had not made it to the present day without obstacles either after the bourgeois revolution. The socialist social order must be given a chance, which it itself also must give itself.

The prime minister said the Socialist Unity Party of Germany proceeded like every political party on the assumption that it would survive and would not give up even in difficult times. Its political concept must now be revised and considered afresh to again fight for trust on that basis. That is his intention.

Modrow again spoke out in favor of a roundtable dialogue. The preparatory talks for the formation of his government had been a type of "roundtable." The course of the talks had shown that real partners had faced each other. There must, however, also be dialogue with other, newly formed social forces. It is his principle that whoever wins trust, which was undoubtedly also the case with these groupings, must take the step toward responsibility. Whoever does not take that step will ultimately not help bring about anything in this country, said Hans Modrow. In that sense joint responsibility had to be established in the roundtable talks.

## HUNGARY

### Council of Ministers Realigns Army Command

#### Personnel Changes Noted

*LD0112231189 Budapest MTI in English  
2155 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, Dec 1 (MTI)—The Hungarian Council of Ministers continued its session on Thursday.

The government held a debate over the proposals submitted for the 1990 central budget and economic programme.

The ministers passed the implementation of the new defence doctrine in the Hungarian People's Army.

Concerning the government decree of November 16 on setting up a supervisory committee for Hungarian Radio and Television, a protest has been filed by some opposition parties and mass media staff calling for the decree to be annulled.

Having studied the comments, the government came to the conclusion that a fundamental change to the original decision was not called for.

At the same time, the government assigned Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, with the task of holding political discussions on the issue of openness and the national media. Mr Pozsgay is due to involve representatives of the various parties, professional organisations and independent experts in the envisaged talks.

During the afternoon press briefing, Government Spokesman Zsolt Bajnok said that the government session was likely to spill over into Saturday.

During the Friday session, decisions were made on personnel issues.

Colonel General Jozsef Pacsek, chief of staff, was relieved of his post as of November 30 with due recognition of his merits owing to his retirement. Lieutenant General Kalman Lorincz was appointed commander of the Hungarian People's Army, Lieutenant general Laszlo Borsics was appointed chief of staff, and Brigadier General Ferenc Szombathelyi was appointed deputy minister of defence, as of December 1.

The government proposed that the interim president of the Republic, Matyas Szuros, relieve Gyula Borics at his own request of the post of state secretary as of December 15 with due recognition of his merits owing to his retirement. Similarly, a request was initiated in the case of Jeno Laszlo, deputy minister of justice, to appoint him to the post of state secretary for justice.

Geza Kilenyi, deputy minister of justice, was relieved of his post as of November 27 owing to his appointment to another important assignment.

Karoly Bav was appointed deputy minister of justice, effective December 16.

Miklos Pulai, deputy minister, vice president of the economic reform committee, was relieved of his office as of December 1, at his own request, with due recognition of his merits, owing to his retirement.

#### Spokesman Bajnok on Realignment

*LD0212044889 Budapest Domestic Service in  
Hungarian 1730 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[Interview with government spokesman Zsolt Bajnok by Attila Nemeth-Miklos on 1 December; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Nemeth-Miklos] Now that the functions have been divided within the Defense Ministry, and many high-ranking officers have left their ministerial posts, the

question arises as to whether in the near future it can be expected that we will have a civilian defense minister.

[Bajnok] In international practice, it often happens that the defense minister is a civilian. There are also many examples of this in Europe. However, in the Warsaw Pact countries, the Defense Ministry is headed by a military man. At the same time, it cannot be excluded that sometime in the future, we too shall introduce the practice that a civilian head the Defense Ministry—all the more so because one of the main elements of the Armed Forces' reform is that the leadership is divided into two within the portfolio. State administration, military policy, and other activities are being separated. This will be the minister's main sphere of tasks. The range of direct military tasks will be separated, which will be the responsibility and sphere of influence of the People's Army commander.

[Nemeth-Miklos] Public opinion and the profession awaited the decision on the radio and television supervisory committee. We know the government has not changed its November decree.

[Bajnok] It, of course, reviewed in detail the various observations, critical comments. It really did not see a justification for changing its decision. At the same time, it entrusted Minister of State Imre Pozsgay with the negotiations to be held on the question of openness and the national media. One topic of these talks is the establishment of an expert committee to ensure the functioning capacity of the radio and television. The other central subject is the further development of the work of the supervisory committee, its restructuring, supplementing, taking into account the results of the political coordinating talks.

[Nemeth-Miklos] So, not only has this committee, the supervisory committee, not ceased to exist, but another committee is being organized. Is this right?

[Bajnok] Yes, the expert committee is called on to ensure the conditions of actual operations. At the same time, the government has asked the supervisory committee to determine for the next 5-to-6-month period, the most important tasks that it wishes to solve, and what is also important, that it should make these tasks public, too.

[Nemeth-Miklos] Are there also personnel decisions involved? I ask in light of the fact, for example, that the government at its session today accepted the resignation of the president of Hungarian television, Gyula Bereczky.

[Bajnok] No kind of personnel questions arose in direct connection with this. [passage omitted]

[Nemeth-Miklos] The government of the Hungarian Republic today recognized that the problem of the homeless is a pressing problem in this country. In this connection, they took concrete measures, too.

[Bajnok] In the course of winding up the assets of the Workers' Guard, a prompt and quick possibility opens

for two old Workers' Guard Command buildings—one in the 10th district, one in Jozsefvaros—to shortly be put at the disposal of the homeless. To be precise, the one in Jozsefvaros was handed over today for this purpose. One hundred who need it can find shelter there. The other building, in Kobanya, will probably be in a condition to have 150-200 people there within a month.

[Nemeth-Miklos] What about the provinces?

[Bajnok] A similar evaluation is under way in the provinces as to which buildings can be quickly freed up and adapted for this purpose. I cannot give figures.

### Armed Forces Reductions, Changes

#### Announcement by Nemeth

*LD0112132289 Budapest Domestic Service in  
Hungarian 1100 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[Text] [Announcer] Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, at the conference of the Hungarian Peoples Army leaders, announced measures of great significance. However, first he spoke about the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Malta.

[Begin Nemeth recording] We trust that in their talks they will seek and find further guarantees to make ideological confrontation avoidable, to push ideological confrontations even further into the background so that the principle of mutually guaranteed security will be anchored with further suitable conditions. We consider very important and we welcome the fact that political factors have overtaken military and military-political considerations and factors. In this sense, the establishment of links between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO can be placed on the agenda—bearing in mind the principle of equal security, the gradual reduction and regression. [as heard]

We consider it important and significant that, taking as a point of departure the basic defense security policy doctrine, and its basic principles, within a short time we should ensure, within a short time, a defensive character for the Hungarian Army. This requires that those military armaments and weapons that serve decisively offensive purposes within the Warsaw Treaty and in the Hungarian Army be significantly and proportionately reduced within a short time.

However, I cannot keep silent about the other factor either, which relates to the country's present economic situation and the one which may be expected for the immediate future. This does not make it possible to maintain the Army at its current level—nor in the future at an unchanged level and structure.

The new international situation—making the new security policy concept prevail—demands as well as justifies that we implement further significant Armed Forces reductions. On the other hand, the maintenance of a significantly smaller Army incurs expenses if we want to



maintain it at a modern level. I consider it very important that the Hungarian Peoples Army support a peaceful transition and the Hungarian reform process, so that we can reach the stage of free elections as soon as possible. However, it should be done in such a way that this country can stay on its feet, that we can maintain the economy in a workable order; but I could add the political life and society, too. The country must be transformed into a democracy through democratic means.

Currently, and perhaps even more so in the future, it is important that the country possess a national defense capability that provides suitable preparedness for the defense of the borders and that ensures national sovereignty against a potential foreign attack. I would like to emphasize that we intend to give the Army a national character in a way that is fundamentally different from the past. Regretfully there have been numerous historical examples to show that, ignoring this, we have failed on a number of occasions.

I would also like to inform you that at our session yesterday we decided that beyond the already announced 9 percent reduction of the Army staff level, by the end of 1991, we shall implement a further 20-25 percent reduction of the Army; i.e., a total of 30-35 percent reduction by the end of 1991.

I would also like to announce here that in 1991 we shall move from the present 18-month military service to the 12-month military service.

We shall separate governmental administrative work from the direct, military management-direction activities. In the course of this, the state administrative activities of the military branch will be carried out by the defense minister and the ministry, while the military professional management of the People's Army will be carried out under the command of the Hungarian People's Army. We have not and do not consider it rational that the professional-military direction of the Army be carried out by the defense minister in the future in the way he did in the past.

Finally, I would like to say thanks, on behalf of the government, to those generals and officers fulfilling leading posts who—after the Order of the Day—are placed into retirement or who receive posts at other areas. I would like to thank them for the work they have done to date; I wish them good health, and I wish the new ones much success in the execution of their difficult tasks. [end recording]

[Announcer] Tibor Hollauer now gives a list of personnel changes:

[Hollauer] Out of the four departing deputy defense ministers, three—Colonel General Jozsef Pacsek, Lieutenant General Zoltan Szoradi, Major General Lajos Krasznai—have been relieved of their posts. Two of these retire while Lajos Krasznai, who until now had worked as a director of the Main Political Directorate of

the Army, starts a military diplomatic career. Major General Ferenc Szombathelyi has been appointed deputy defense minister.

The Council of Ministers has decided to establish the Command of the People's Army, which will carry out the professional management of the defense forces. It is not quite clear to this correspondent what the hierarchical relationship is between the defense minister and the Command of the People's Army commander. According to background information, they will work alongside each other, with the defense minister carrying out political and public law duties.

The Command of the Hungarian People's Army commander is, in the rank of state secretary, going to be Lieutenant General Kalman Lorincz. His deputy will be Lieutenant General Laszlo Borcsics, chief of staff. It is impossible to say to what extent the book by Bokor [on incompetence, frauds, and abuses of power by Army leaders] influenced decisions on personnel or the details of reorganization. Still, the Defense Ministry has completed its report on the book and presented it to the prime minister, who passed it over to the Defense Committee of the National Assembly and to the special parliamentary committee commissioned to examine the affair.

### Spokesman on Changes

*LD0112220589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[Text] This afternoon, my colleague Tibor Hollauer attended the defense minister's news briefing, where the personnel changes indicated by the premier were justified in detail.

[Begin recording] [Hollauer] From today on, Colonel Gyorgy Keleti is the Defense Ministry's press spokesman. I congratulate you. Can you tell me how many people, along with you, can be pleased at receiving new appointments?

[Keleti] Properly speaking, all of the employees in the Defense Ministry have ended up in different positions. The ministry has been divided into two. Put more correctly, the Defense Ministry that remains has a relatively small staff, and, apart from these, those who worked here previously will, in the future, constitute the Command of the Hungarian People's Army. Naturally, a healthy upheaval is now under way, and many people from among the troops will end up in the command staff.

Major General Ferenc Szombathelyi has been appointed deputy minister in the Ministry of Defense, the ministry which, according to the new concept, has a small staff. Also today, the Council of Ministers appointed Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits chief of staff and first deputy commander of the Hungarian People's Army.

The Council of Ministers appointed Lieutenant General Kalman Lorincz to head the command of the Hungarian People's Army; he henceforth will fulfill functions at the level of state secretary.

[Hollauer] Is he subordinate to the existing defense minister?

[Keleti] The Hungarian People's Army commander is immediately subordinate to the president of the Republic, since, according to the new Constitution, the president of the Republic of Hungary is commander in chief of the Armed Forces.

[Hollauer] Is this so at present, too—I mean, Matyas Szuros, the provisional president of Republic, the boss of the Army's commander who was appointed today?

[Keleti] Yes, this is stipulated by the Constitution, which now comes into force. Basically, two deputy ministers retired today; one was the chief of General Staff, the other was the chief of the supply service group. Both left because they have reached retirement age. Apart from this, naturally several will retire at the end of the year. This will be announced in coming days. I imagine that in mid-December, we will perhaps be able to give precise figures on this, since there will be departures from formations, from the ministry, and from various commands.

[Hollauer] Ferenc Szombathelyi said that he is a member of the Hungarian Socialist Party, and the Army's commander said my relationship is one solely of left-wing commitment. Thus, this does not appear to be a political change.

[Keleti] This really is primarily a generational change. The Army's high leadership has reached the age of retirement, naturally after honorable work.

[Hollauer] Does this change not have anything to do with the Bokor book, because public opinion is of the view that a wave of dismissals has begun under its impact.

[Keleti] The Bokor book was published more than 1 month ago. This military leadership has been working for more than 1 and ½ years on the details of this forces' reform. The Bokor book possibly supplied some additional data. However, it is entirely certain that the determining, fundamental idea was raised, that the point of departure originated 1 and ½ years ago, and not from the Bokor book.

[Hollauer] Twelve month military service is to be introduced. How many call-ups will there be until then?

[Keleti] This means that people who are conscripted for 18 months will be called up in February and August of next year. Every transition has a detrimental effect as far as individuals are concerned. We must not make exceptions. We must not accept people backing out through their connections. However, we will give postponements

to those who are entitled to receiving a postponement of their service; they will thereby fall into the 12-month category. [end recording]

### USSR Involvement Denied

*LD0112220989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] One day before the Soviet-U.S. meeting, the Hungarian premier announced that our country is reducing its Armed Forces. In response to my question, a Defense Ministry spokesman denied that Budapest might have coordinated this measure with Moscow, although from his words it is not precluded that the Soviet leadership might have known of the Hungarian plans, which perhaps might dovetail with its own arms limitation plans. [passage omitted]

### Details of Reductions

*LD0112222189 Budapest MTI in English 2106 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[MTI headline: "Reform of Hungarian Armed Forces—Press Briefing"]

[Text] Budapest, Dec 1 (MTI)—Hungarian Armed Forces will be reduced by up to 30-35 percent in the coming years, this figure includes the 9 percent staff reductions already announced for this year. National service will be reduced to 12 months from 1991. The activity of the Ministry of Defence and the Military Directorate of the Army are also to be separated. These are the most important elements of the newly announced overhaul of the Armed Forces, details of which were publicised at a Friday press conference held in the Ministry of Defence, Budapest.

Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, emphasised that the Armed Forces reform is based on the country's new security policy, and is also connected with the formation of the Warsaw Treaty's military defence doctrine. The reform covers the Army as a whole, and is also connected to the far-reaching social, political and economic changes taking place in Hungary. In addition to the 9 percent reduction in the Armed Forces announced for this year, reductions will rise to 30-35 percent in the next two years, Mr Karpati said, adding that the agenda of the Vienna arms reductions talks includes an even greater extent of reductions than these. Accomplishing the Vienna reductions, though, depends on the successful conclusion of the talks. The minister expressed his hope that other countries of the Warsaw Treaty would follow suit in implementing similar unilateral measures, thereby prompting other NATO countries to do the same in the near future. Hungarian arms reductions extend primarily to assault weapons, such as armoured cars, artillery, missiles, and to a certain extent, aircraft.

Mr Karpati spoke about reducing national service in Hungary to 12 months (instead of the present 18 months) from 1991. At the same time, the period of

unarmed military service will be reduced from 24 months to 18 months, while civilian service is to be cut from the present 28 to 22 months. An important element of the reforms is the transformation of the Army's control. In the future, the Ministry of Defence will carry out governing and state administration tasks, providing the necessary conditions for the operation of the Army. Control over the Army will be exercised by the military command now being formed. After the party law was passed, service regulations also changed, and this meant the Political Directorate also ceased to function. In future, political officers will be replaced by education officers working beside commanders, these will be assigned the task of teaching soldiers about citizens' rights and social policy problems.

Responding to a question, Mr Karpati said it was possible that the commander of the Hungarian People's Army will be directly responsible to the president of the Republic.

Lieutenant General Kalman Lorincz, commander of the Hungarian People's Army, said that under the party law, servicemen may only take part in politics outside their places of service, and then only in civilian clothes.

Concerning the reduction in the number of serving officers, Mr Lorincz said that this will be implemented gradually by 1992. In order to achieve this, on the one hand fewer students will be admitted to military schools, and on the other, early retirement will be made available to those who have served a long time.

## POLAND

### Polish Weaponry Being Adjusted to Civilian Uses

LD0112222889 Warsaw PAP in English  
2052 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 1—In accordance with the programme of restructuring the Polish Armed Forces, further units have been disbanded, such as tank regiments, technical battalions, car transport battalions, etc.

Military equipment of these units is being adjusted to civilian needs. This year 400 tanks, 600 armoured personnel carriers, 700 artillery pieces and cannons will have been liquidated or adapted for civilian purposes.

Next year, another 450 tanks, 100 APC's and 200 artillery pieces will be "disarmed" in the same manner.

There are special military facilities, like those in Opole and Jastrzebie, which do the job of liquidating weaponry withdrawn from service and adjusting it to civilian needs.

### Chervov Cited on Arms Reductions

AU0412155389 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Nov 89 p 2

[NOVOSTI article "specially for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI" by Vasilii Morozov: "N. Chervov: There Has Been a Change in the Way in Which Generals and Officers Think"]

[Text] "It is true that some representatives of the West accept the assurances of the Soviet political and military leadership concerning the defensive character of our military doctrine, but they think this only applies to the political aspect of the doctrine. It is alleged that the aforementioned principle does not fully apply to the military and technical aspect of the doctrine," says Colonel-General Nikolay Chervov, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. He adds that neither of these views reflect the essence of the matter. The socio-political aspect of the doctrine simultaneously defines the essence of the military and technical aspect because the second is dependent on the first. Both serve the main goal of Soviet military doctrine: the prevention of war.

As we know, the concrete military and technical aspect of the doctrine includes matters relating to equipping the USSR Armed Forces, the training of these forces, and the definition of ways and means in which possible aggression may be repulsed. This aspect of the doctrine is directly related to four sets of problems. The first concerns defining the nature of the military threat, as well as the potential enemy. Second, a clear answer has to be found to the question of what kind of aggression would have to be repulsed and what kind of modern war the Armed Forces would have to be trained for. Third, there has to be a precise definition of the size and numerical strength of the Armed Forces, so that the general principle of reasonable sufficiency is satisfied.

In this context, one has to mention the Soviet proposal concerning the Armed Forces of the two military organizations in Europe once they have been reduced.

As we know, this proposal, made during the Vienna negotiations, calls for a radical reduction in the Armed Forces of both sides. It calls for, among other things, a reduction in the numerical strength of the forces of both sides by over 1 million men on each side, and a threefold reduction in the number of tanks in the Warsaw Pact.

According to the Soviet proposal, following the reductions, to take place at an agreed time, the Warsaw Pact and NATO could each have 1,350,000 soldiers, 4,700 tactical aircraft, 1,900 combat helicopters, 20,000 tanks, 21,000-22,000 artillery systems, and 28,000 infantry combat vehicles and armored personnel carriers. Apart from that, the Soviet proposal also calls for converting the remaining forces of both sides according to purely defensive principles.

But to get back to Soviet military doctrine, the fourth point is to establish the kind of military action against

which the Soviet Armed Forces must be constantly prepared in order to repulse any aggression.

Commenting on this problem, Gen Chervov says: "We never intended to be the first to start a war but, bearing in mind the experience of World War II, until recently we did intend to repulse aggression by defensive and offensive means. Today, however, war strategy has been thoroughly reconsidered and there has been a change in the way in which generals and officers think. In case of aggression, defensive operations would be the basic form of military activity in the initial stage."

Gen Chervov cites many concrete examples of implementing the principle of intelligent defense sufficiency while shaping a modern army. One should bear in mind that the Soviet Union has been implementing its unilateral commitments and has reduced the size of its Armed Forces by 235,000 soldiers since November 1989. Apart from that, in response to a USSR Council of Ministers decree, over 172,000 students have been exempted from military service. Some 7,120 tanks, over 3,000 artillery systems, 735 combat aircraft, and 40 ships have been eliminated. The 1989 planned withdrawal of Soviet units from the army groups stationed in Europe and Mongolia has been completed. The total numerical strength of Soviet forces outside Soviet territory has already been reduced by 50,000, and their equipment has been reduced by about 3,200 tanks and large quantities of other types of weapons and equipment.

Gen Chervov also indicates other concrete Soviet moves. A qualitative change to the structure and composition of the Armed Forces is taking place in the USSR. The number of warships, armies, and divisions is decreasing.

Shock units and so-called armored pincers are being eliminated. The divisions that remain on the territory of our allies are already being disbanded. The mechanized infantry is losing 40 percent of its tanks, reducing this number from 260 to 155; and armored divisions are losing 20 percent of their tanks, a reduction from 320 to 250. Divisions are altering their defense structure.

Thanks to the positive changes in Europe and a further improvement in the USSR's relations with the Scandinavian countries (Finland, Sweden, and Norway), it has become possible to reduce the combat and numerical status of Soviet forces in the northwestern part of the country. For example, in the Leningrad Military District, the number of tanks has been reduced by a factor of almost two. By the beginning of 1991, the size of units belonging to the Leningrad and Baltic Military Districts will fall by about one-third (by 40,000 men, 1,200 tanks, and a large quantity of artillery). By the end of 1989, the withdrawal of 500 tactical nuclear warheads (166 of them carried by aircraft, 284 of them carried by missiles, and 50 of them carried by artillery) will be completed. By the end of 1990, all submarines with nuclear warheads will be withdrawn from the Baltic. The nuclear weapons arsenal for these submarines will also be destroyed.

Finally, the Soviet military budget will be cut by over 14 percent over 2 years (by R10 million). The cut this year alone will amount to over 8 percent. We intend to cut the proportion of military spending in the national budget by a factor ranging from 1.5 to 2.

Those are the facts that confirm that words are not isolated from deeds in the USSR. They confirm that the Soviet doctrine really does have a strictly defensive nature.

**BRAZIL****Navy To Install PWR Nuclear Reactor in 1995**

*PY0512181089 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 3 Dec 89 p A-4*

[Text] The Aramar Experimental Center [Centro Experimental Aramar—CEA], in Ipero (125 km west of Sao Paulo), will install a PWR (a reactor that uses pressurized water to cool its nucleus) nuclear reactor in 1991. The reactor is scheduled to go live in 1995. This was reported yesterday during a news conference by Rear Admiral Othon Luis Pinheiro da Silva, the president of the Special Projects Coordinating Board (COPESP), which is dependent on the Navy. The COPESP is responsible for the project.

Nuclear reactors produce energy from the reactions that occur among atom nuclei. When the nuclei of uranium atoms break up, a lot of energy in the form of heat is released. The reactor uses this heat to produce steam, which is used to drive electricity generators. The PWR reactor uses the heat of the reaction to make the pressurized water cool the uranium.

According to studies by the COPESP, by mid-1990 Aramar will supply fuel for the nuclear reactor of the Institute for Nuclear and Energy Research (IPEN), the only institute in the country which produces radioisotopes (radioactive material) for medical use. The IPEN nuclear reactor is not working at full capacity because of the lack of enriched uranium. In 1989 Aramar processed 400 kg of uranium, compared to 4 tons (4,000 kg) foreseen for 1990.

Pinheiro da Silva said that he "is working with a tight budget" and with funds mainly provided by the Navy Ministry. A \$50 million (717 million new cruzados) budget has been requested for 1990, of which 70 percent will be invested in equipment and reactor components. Since 1979, the Brazilian nuclear program has spent \$279 million (3.9 billion new cruzados), Pinheiro da Silva said.

According to the rear admiral, the uranium is being enriched to 20 percent and "there is no need for more than that." He added that the process does not produce radioactive waste (atomic waste), but when the reactor begins to work, the spent uranium will be placed in a storage pool.

The rear admiral said he does not believe that Luis Inacio Lula da Silva (People's Front of Brazil) will stop the research projects that are being carried out if he becomes president.

**EL SALVADOR****FMLN Reportedly Fires 2 SAM Rockets; No Hits**

*PA0112223989 San Salvador Radio Cadena Cuscatlan in Spanish 2116 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[Press communique issued by the Salvadoran National Communication Secretariat; date not given]

[Text] FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] guerrillas fired a SAM-7 missile on 29 November from Zacatecoluca, and on 30 November fired a similar missile, also from Zacatecoluca. Both missed their targets.

The Air Force officers involved reported that in both cases the SAM-7 missiles were detected by observer planes, which in turn warned the two Salvadoran Air Force A-37 planes that the missiles were headed toward them. The two planes were flying patrol missions in the Zacatecoluca area. Both SAM-7 missiles failed to strike their targets thanks to the professionalism of the pilots, who maneuvered to prevent the FMLN missiles from hitting them.

The FMLN continues to receive Soviet arms supplies through Cuba and Nicaragua, an action which has already been officially denounced to the entire world, and which the Salvadoran people fully repudiate. The Sandinist government has supplied the FMLN terrorists with this type of sophisticated weaponry of Soviet manufacture, which confirms that the FMLN, apart from having its general command inside Nicaraguan territory, has the military support and guidance of the Sandinist regime. Official sources believe that the SAM-7 missiles fired by the FMLN against the Air Force planes could be among the weapons that were onboard the other small plane that was set on fire by the terrorists after they had unloaded it.

As soon as the Salvadoran Government learned of the SAM-7 shipments to the FMLN, they reported it to the international community. In response to this report, the Soviet government, showing great annoyance, ordered a freeze on all arms shipments to the Ortega government, which, following orders from Fidel Castro, supplies military equipment to the FMLN terrorists. It has also been reported that an investigation is under way on the participation of mercenaries from different countries who are fighting alongside the FMLN, causing the genocide of the Salvadoran people.

### Soviet 'Concessions' at Wyoming Meeting Questioned

90WC0014A Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 43, 29 Oct-5 Nov 89 p 3

[Text] The results of the meeting held in Wyoming between the heads of the foreign policy departments of the USSR and the USA allow us to heave a sigh of relief—at long last, there is a light at the end of the tunnel at the talks on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons. Even the most down-and-out skeptics now believe that an accord may be reached in a short time.

On the other hand, the same skeptics declare that progress has been reached only on Soviet concessions. One cannot consider the US refusal to ban mobile land-based ICBMs a concession. After all, the US is considering making its MX missiles mobile, and plans to deploy a new mobile system—the Midgetman. One can hear more and more often that the USSR is allegedly making one concession after another, capitulating to the US, and is prepared to do literally everything in order to achieve an agreement.

Is that really so? Let's have a look at what is meant.

The USSR has dropped its insistence on linking problems of strategic offensive arms with space arms. Formally, this step can be considered as a concession, for the US insisted upon it for a long time. But in fact it is just a return to common sense. The SDI programme is clearly going out and it would be clearly unjustified for us to stick to our former position. It is a pity, of course, that we made this "concession" in Wyoming and not in Reykjavik, three years ago—then, probably, the treaty on the 50 per cent reduction would have already been signed and ratified, and, in general, quite a few problems in Soviet-US relations could have been solved much more quickly and successfully. But the blame for the three-year-long lag should be laid not upon the political leadership, but on those "experts" who believed the sales pitch of SDI advocates, and were scaring us for so long by fantastic pictures of the implementation of the star wars programme.

Another "concession" is the consent to dismantle the Krasnoyarsk radar station. The Americans also insisted on this—according to them, the station does not correspond to the provisions of the 1972 ABM Treaty. However, here we also should employ quotation marks. The US demands are not without a certain legal basis which has been known for a long time. Certain logical questions arise here. Who took the decision on the construction of

the station? Who was consulted? What sums were spent to construct the station and will be spent to dismantle it? Who'll be responsible for wasting the people's money? I think that the Committee on Defence and State Security, and the Committee on International Affairs of the USSR Supreme Soviet must consider these questions closely. And not only just to punish the culprits, but, also not to allow similar cases to repeat in the future.

The third "concession" is the exclusion of the strategic submarine-launched cruise missiles (SLCMs) from the framework of the future 50 per cent arms reduction. Here I am not so clear. The SLCMs are a dangerous and rapidly growing nuclear force which has become the fourth element in the nuclear "triad". Without them any treaty on strategic arms will be incomplete. It will probably be impossible to limit the SLCMs in some other context, for example, in an agreement on marine weapons. V. Karpov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, says that the USSR insisted on a concrete agreement dealing with this question, too. But will Washington agree? If not, then we and the Americans will be taking a very dangerous road—a stepped up arms race that is practically uncontrollable. The very agreement on the 50 percent reductions of strategic offensive weapons could, in these conditions, become meaningless. However, it is too early as yet to make conclusions here—we need objective and complete information from Soviet official sources about our own programmes for building SLCMs. Taking into account the importance of the problem, maybe, we should think of asking for a deputy's inquiry on this theme.

The sole result of the Wyoming meeting which can be considered not a formal, but a factual concession made by the USSR, and a concession which wasn't caused by any objective need, is, as I see it, the accord on preparing for ratification of the 1974 and 1976 Treaties on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Blasts. These treaties legalized, in fact, nuclear tests, confining them to "acceptable limits". Today—after the revolutionary changes in our policy, after a year-and-a-half unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions, and after the discovery of the pernicious ecological results of nuclear tests—ratification looks like encouragement for continuing tests.

True, the advocates of the treaties stress the importance of introducing tough control—which could also be used to ban nuclear tests completely. In short—treaties are the first step towards this goal. But since this question wasn't raised at all in Wyoming, it should be posed and thought out in the Kremlin by those who will ratify the treaties.

**FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY****Military Service, Strength Depend on Arms Talks***LD0512110789 Hamburg DPA in German  
1022 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] Bonn (DPA)—If there is success in negotiations on conventional disarmament in East and West, the period of military service for young men in the FRG will remain at 15 months. This was learned by DPA after a meeting of the coalition leaders in the Federal Chancellery this morning.

At the 6 December cabinet session on the future strength of the Federal Army, the proposal by Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg on a basic strength of 420,000 active soldiers remains on the table. If there is success in the Vienna negotiations, there will be a decision on whether or not the Federal Army will be reduced to 400,000.

In addition, it was agreed in the coalition talks chaired by Chancellor Helmut Kohl that there will be a decision on a further reduction of the peacetime strength of the Federal Army, only if East-West relations continue to develop positively, and if there is a successful conclusion to the follow-up negotiations that the Federal Government is hoping for on conventional disarmament—thus after the first round of negotiations on conventional security in Europe. [passage omitted]

**U.S. Reduction of Defense Spending Discussed***AU3011124989 Hamburg DIE WELT in German  
30 Nov 89 p 2*

[Article by Herbert Kremp]

[Text] Amid dramatic changes in Europe, the Atlantic Alliance is making an important contribution to stability. After the defense ministers' meeting in Brussels it has become clear that none of the existing alliances can avoid facing up to the challenges of the present. Three factors will lead to substantial changes in the military pacts if they are translated into political facts: The restructuring of the European continent, the reduction of the military superiority of the Soviet Union, and the massive budget problems in the United States.

For the West and its security, it is essential to coordinate the processes that are taking place at varying speeds in the order of their consequences. The U.S. announcement of a considerable reduction in the defense budget in the coming years came at the wrong time, if one looks at things objectively. The impression was thereby created that assessment of the threat and of Soviet potential has been influenced by the figures of the U.S. economic and financial policy, and not by the objective security situation.

It was not easy for Defense Secretary Cheney to dispel the suspicion of his partners that the planned reduction of defense spending was intended as a signal to the

meeting off Malta. After Reykjavik, the European allies have become sceptical of private talks between the superpowers. The spread of rumors, shortly before such a meeting, on the withdrawal of one-third of the U.S. troops deployed in Europe was bound to trigger nervous speculations about a trade to the disadvantage of the allies.

Cheney tried to smooth over emotions. In a news conference during which he was asked the same question several times, he confirmed that the United States will not implement plans to reduce defense spending, dictated by the shortage of financial resources, without prior consultation with the allies and without a successful conclusion of the talks on disarmament and arms control. However, it remains to be seen whether the U.S. Congress will observe this golden rule.

The new assessment of the Soviet threat and weapons potential, made in a sensational style, may develop a political dynamism of its own in the Senate and the House of Representatives. The findings of NATO are not sufficient at the moment to draw a truly reliable picture. There are hints that the Soviet Union will reduce its tank production (1,400 instead of 3,000 units per year, according to estimates) and that it will slowly reduce global military expenditure. However, its arsenal of strategic weapons is constantly increasing. In general, the modernization drive that started before the installation of Gorbachev as general secretary in 1985 continues unabated.

For this reason, the West is exerting pressure at the disarmament talks in Vienna. As NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner stressed after a brief visit to the Austrian capital, the Soviets are interested in concluding a first agreement by summer or fall of next year. This is the point when the U.S. reductions will become effective. The shortage of financial means will then have to be compensated as soon as possible by follow-up negotiations on new arms control agreements.

The signals from Washington also anticipate the political changes that must be assessed psychologically and factually. In addition, there is considerable political pressure in the individual allied countries to reduce defense spending. This also applies to the FRG, where unforeseeable sums will have to be allocated to the budget item "Germany" in the future. The rapidly diminishing feeling of threat and the political withdrawal of the Soviet Union from central and East Europe increase the inclination of Europeans to redistribute funds within the budget and to reduce costs for the armed forces; in short to follow the U.S. example both in word and deed.

It will be difficult to maintain the primacy of security in the face of the current atmosphere of change and departure in Europe. Discussions on the purpose and the future of military projects are under way. However, they

have started too early. A time of instability, of unpredictability and surprise crises lies ahead of us until a European security system is created that will make them superfluous.

## FINLAND

### Official Views Gorbachev's Helsinki Summit Plan

*LD3011213289 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish  
2030 GMT 30 Nov 89*

[Excerpts] Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev proposed today the convening of a European summit meeting in Helsinki next year. [passage omitted]

Jaakko Blomberg, head of the political department of the Finnish Foreign Ministry, said today that President Gorbachev's proposal came as a surprise to Finland. The proposal arouses great interest, and we must examine it carefully. In the first place it is necessary to examine what Gorbachev really said, Blomberg noted. He stressed that the possible bringing forward of the European security conference of 35 countries requires the agreement of all the countries concerned.

## FRANCE

### France's DGA Unveils New Laser Weapon

*90AN0079 Paris LE MARCHE DE L'INNOVATION in  
French 10 Nov 89 p 6*

[Text] A 40-kW CO<sub>2</sub> laser and a temperature of 3,500 degrees C on a stationary target at a distance of 700 meters: These data summarize the demonstration of a laser weapon developed by the armed forces equipment authority (DGA) at the Marcoussis Laboratories. It is the first product of the Laser Linked to Experimental Turret (LATEX) program, which was launched in 1984 and which to date has cost about Fr 600 million.

The system, which will be transferred to the Landes Test Center (CEL) in December, consists of:

- a 40-kW CO<sub>2</sub> source developed by the former Industrial Laser Company (CILAS—now part of the Aérospatiale subsidiary Laserdot);
- a sighting turret;
- and a telescope with a 1-meter diameter (focal distance 0.98) with adaptable optics developed by the Measurement Instruments Manufacturing Company (SFIM) (control electronics and sensor integration) and its two subsidiaries Reosc (optics) and MTO (surface treatment).

The efficiency of a laser weapon is measured in terms of energy deposited on the target. To pierce an aeronautical structure, a minimum of 10 kW/cm<sup>2</sup> is required. In the LATEX experiment, half of the initial energy is absorbed by the atmosphere. Thus, the target (a missile radome) receives energy of 20 kW on a surface area of a few square centimeters (a 5-franc coin). The destruction by

fusion of the matter occurs in less than 5 seconds. A system of adaptable optics has been designed for this purpose. It compensates for the defocusing of the flare spot on the target (due to atmospheric disturbances). This operation is carried out in real time by decoding the return echo of a specific signal emitted by the laser. A series of microactuators (either 19 or 37) continuously adjusts the mirror's flexible surface (a sheet of molybdenum). This type of device (with 19 actuators) is currently being tested at the Saint Michel Observatory in Provence.

Next year, the LATEX system will be tested on moving targets (up to 250 m/s) at the CEL with its automatic aiming and tracking system. Over the long term (10 to 15 years), a tactical laser weapon of about 100 kW (a range of several kilometers) might be developed. The DGA is looking for a partner—the Germans have a similar program—and for a source that is less sensitive to atmospheric disturbances, possibly deuterium fluorine (4 microns).

## GREECE

### U.S. Said Pressuring Government on Mersin

*NC0212095389 Athens ELEVETHEROTIPIA in Greek  
1 Dec 89 p 48*

[Report by Kira Adham]

[Text] The U.S. Government has again exerted pressure on the Greek Government to agree to a "compromise solution" with Turkey so that the Mersin issue may be resolved at the negotiations being held in Vienna on the reduction of conventional arms in Europe.

According to reliable information from diplomatic circles, U.S. Ambassador in Athens Michael Sotirhos called on Prime Minister Xenofon Zolotas early this week and conveyed a U.S. Government message. The message said that the Greek Government should accept a compromise solution on the Mersin issue so that the Vienna negotiations do not fall farther behind.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said the other day that the differences between Greece and Turkey are the biggest problem facing NATO in preparing its proposals for conventional arms reduction.

According to the same Greek diplomatic sources, similar pressure concerning the Mersin question was also exerted on the Greek delegation at the Vienna negotiations on conventional arms reduction and confidence-building measures in Europe.

The Greek delegation described as "unacceptable" and therefore rejected a compromise solution on the Mersin issue which West Germany had intended to present at its own initiative.

The Greek delegation in Vienna believed that the German plan essentially adopted the Turkish views on



excluding Mersin from the areas in which the disarmament measures would be implemented.

Finally, according to the same Foreign Ministry circles, the all-party government insists that it will not accept a compromise solution favoring Turkey's views.

## SWEDEN

### Prime Minister Speaks on East-West Ties, Defense

LD0212155189 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1130 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Report on Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson's speech in Stockholm on 2 December; includes recorded excerpts of Carlsson's speech, followed by recorded interview with Carlsson by reporter Herman Melzer]

[Text] [Announcer] Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson delivered a big foreign policy speech this morning at the International Center of the Labor Movement and the Peace Forum of the Labor Movement in Stockholm. In his speech, Ingvar Carlsson took up the developments in East Europe, and said that Sweden's policy of neutrality will not be changed by the rapprochement between the blocs in East Europe, because even if peace and detente prevails now, there is still a risk of war, according to Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson:

[Carlsson] The threat of war has not yet in fact been abolished, despite all the positive things that have happened this year and last. We have distinct political detente, but it has not yet led to any obvious military detente in the form of real arms limitations.

[Reporter Melzer] And Ingvar Carlsson said that the Warsaw Pact's military cuts mean that the risk of a surprise attack in central Europe has decreased considerably in comparison with the earlier situation, and this places demands on the other side. Ingvar Carlsson continued:

[Carlsson] We hope that they will find a response in NATO. Early reports before today's meeting between Bush and Gorbachev indicate that it is possible, and if this succeeds, then it can gradually also ease the pressure on the Swedish defense budget.

[Begin recorded interview] [Melzer] Do you really believe you will be able to reduce the Swedish defense budget within a number of years?

[Carlsson] I said today that if the world's superpowers and the European countries progress from the political detente we are experiencing now to military disarmament, then in time this will ease the pressure on the Swedish defense budget.

[Melzer] But the Defense [Forces] say all the time that they are not coping with what they are expected to do. How, then, can one think of having a lower level than we have today?

[Carlsson] Within every area in which a director general—in this case the commander in chief—represents his area, in every situation he says that he must have increased resources. What I have spoken about here is that if we have military disarmament as a result of the political detente, then this will in the long term have a positive influence on the pressure on the Swedish defense budget. Otherwise we would be living in a vacuum, and we are not living in one.

[Melzer] It also sounded as if you now believe that the social democrats will grow up [words indistinct] in the whole of East Europe. Now [words indistinct] that they will be just the social democrats?

[Carlsson] Well, social democratic parties are already being formed; have been formed, in East Germany: are being formed today in Latvia and Lithuania. This has happened in Hungary and will happen in Poland. Then it will be as in other democratic countries; that the social democratic parties will have to fight for their ideas, and convince as many as they can convince in free democratic elections. [end interview]

[Melzer] In an excerpt on the EC, Ingvar Carlsson criticized both sides in the Swedish EC debate today. Ingvar Carlsson said that the forthcoming political talks will indeed be difficult, but, according to him, Sweden does not have to give up what is important for us.

[Carlsson] Sovereignty means being able to decide ourselves. The important thing is that we ourselves will decide on whether what we can achieve is worth the price. It is we ourselves who decide what is for the greatest benefit for us; to enter into expanded cooperation or to refrain from it. In taking that decision we are totally sovereign.

[Announcer] The reporter at the Folkets Hus in Stockholm was Herman Melzer.

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